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[Extra series]

ON A HITHERTO UNEXAMINED MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI.

By C. Raymond Beazley, M.A.

(*From 'The Geographical Journal' for December.*)

While working lately in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I came upon a manuscript (No. 181, pp. 279–321) hitherto unknown except by the bare mention of its title in Nasmith's and other catalogues, which seems to have a distinct interest and value. It contains, in the most complete form, the text of John de Plano Carpini's account of the Mongols, and of his journey to the Great Khan's court (A.D. 1245–7). The last chapter of Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum* has hitherto been supposed to exist only in the Leyden manuscript known as "Petau," from its old possessor Paul Petavius; and as this chapter is the record of Carpini's journey to Mongolia and back, it is more valuable than any of the eight that precede it. Now, the whole of this final chapter is to be found in the Corpus manuscript referred to, whose value was wholly unknown to the eminent French scholar M. d'Avezac, when he prepared his remarkable edition of Carpini for volume iv. of the Paris Geographical Society's *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie*, 1839. Its worth and content were equally unknown to Thomas Wright, who collated in a strangely casual manner the London manuscript of Carpini (B. Mus., Reg. 13 A. XIV.) for this edition of the *Société de Géographie*. The aforesaid edition of 1839 is, of course, still the standard, and, indeed, the only recognizable one of this great Franciscan traveller, for the truncated and corrupt text printed by Hakluyt, and generally accepted till 1839, is unworthy of comparison with that exhibited in the manuscripts of "Petau" and "Corpus" and in the Paris text.

It may be added that the Corpus manuscript contains in several places fuller and more satisfactory readings even than "Petau." M. d'Avezac, no doubt guided by the information or want of information he received from England about Carpini manuscripts, evidently considered that another manuscript of the *Historia Mongalorum* existed in Cambridge, viz. No. 61 (or rather one in No. 61) in the collection of "Bennet" College; but this is the very same thing as one in No. 181 in the present numbering of the Corpus collection, 61 being the number in Edward Bernard's catalogue, now superseded by 181 in Nasmith's. It is strange that this simple verification seems never to have been made hitherto. According to Bernard, moreover (*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 1697; part iii., p. 133, no. 1337, referring to 61 in the list of *codices manuscripti Collegii S. Benedicti*, and to the third item in the sixty-first manuscript), the Carpini manuscript, called *Historia Monogallorum sive Tartarorum Pr. Omnibus fidelibus*, is the third piece in the volume, the Rubruquis manuscript being reckoned as the fifth. This reckoning is reproduced by d'Avezac (*Recueil*, as quoted above, p. 448), the great Paris geographer evidently considering that this manuscript of Carpini was only catalogued in Bernard. But, as a matter of fact, the Rubruquis text follows Carpini here without any interval whatever, and the two really form the eighth and ninth items in the volume. It is also noteworthy that Nasmith (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Coll. Corp. Christ. et B. M. Virg. in Acad. Cantab. legavit Matth. Parker*; 1777; in the general heading to clxxxi., which is described as *seculo xv. scriptus*) speaks as if all the pieces were of the fifteenth century, whereas they are of distinctly varying date, and the two with which we are specially concerned (Carpini and Rubruquis) cannot possibly be later than the early fourteenth century, and were probably written before 1300.

As Carpini is in the first rank of mediæval explorers, standing but little below Marco Polo, the discovery of another manuscript of his complete text, preferable in some points even to the best hitherto collated, may not be without interest. The writing is of the latter part of the thirteenth century, or earlier part of the fourteenth (*c.* 1260–1320), and is in the same hand as the manuscript of Rubruquis known as D, which immediately follows, and the extracts from Æthicus which end the volume; the lines are long, running over the whole breadth of the page. The additions which "Petau" makes to the text of the earlier chapters (*De moribus Tartarorum*, etc.), and which are in several cases direct and avowed additions of the author revising his work, appear in "Corpus," *e.g.* the passage *haec autem quæ superius scripta sunt . . . possidebit*, following the words *adversarii manifesti*, with which all but these two manuscripts end. This passage contains an author's "personal note" to the effect that in the military details he has just given of the Mongol army, and of the best manner of resisting that army, he has no intention of trespassing on soldiers' ground, but only of furnishing *occasionem*

et materiam cogitandi. The whole bears the most distinct evidence of belonging to a second revised and improved edition. The Corpus manuscript of Carpini is not only (with Petau) the fullest, it is also the oldest, text of the *Historia Mongalorum*, and it seems to have been written at latest within seventy years of the traveller's return from Central Asia, and probably (as Michel and Wright consider of the Rubruquis manuscript in the same hand, which follows) even before the end of the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, to all appearance a few years older than "Petau;" and the years 1260–1320 (above referred to) may be taken as an outside, 1270–1290 as an inside, date for its transcription.

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THE

TEXTS AND VERSIONS

OF

JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI

AND

WILLIAM DE RUBRUQUIS

AS PRINTED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY HAKLUYT IN 1598

TOGETHER WITH SOME SHORTER PIECES

EDITED BY

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE objects of the present volume are; *first*, to give an exact reprint of the texts and versions of the great XIII-century Friar travellers, John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis, as printed, for the first time, by Richard Hakluyt in 1598 (and 1599), [Hak. pp. 21—117 = pp. 43—234 of the present volume]; *second*, to reprint with the same exactness the shorter pieces, especially the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, with which Hakluyt opens the final edition of his *Principal Navigations* (pp. 1—21 of the same = pp. 1—42 of the present volume); *third*, to furnish a critical and explanatory commentary on the foregoing.

The text as given by Hakluyt has been always and in every detail reproduced to the letter and the comma, to the best of the editor's ability: no alteration has been made of Hakluyt's mistakes, but corrections of such mistakes (where they are not too obvious) have been offered in the notes. Where Hakluyt is making excerpts from books already printed in his day, an attempt has been made in each case to suggest or fix the edition from which he probably or certainly borrowed, and the exact place from which he took his citation. Where he is printing from a manuscript, as in the cases of Carpini and Rubruquis, his text has been compared afresh with all the more important manuscripts now known. In the course of my work upon these manuscripts I had the good fortune to make two discoveries (1) of a hitherto unexamined manuscript of Carpini in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; (2) of the identity of the London or British Museum manuscript of the same traveller with that once in Lord Lumley's Library, from which Hakluyt himself transcribed and which has been assumed to be quite different from and independent of the former.

As to the MSS. of Carpini: These are five in number, viz. 'Corpus,' 'Petau,' 'Colbert,' 'London-Lumley,' 'Dupuy': see p. 249. I may say a word about each in the order given above.

I. 'Corpus.' This is now in codex no. 181 in the Library of

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: the text of Carpini occupies pp. 278—321 of the volume: the writing is of the later XIIIth or earliest XIVth century, and is in the same hand as the MS. of Rubruquis (known as D.) which immediately follows; the page is single-columned; and the lines are long, running over the whole breadth of the page. The present editor came upon this text while working at the Rubruquis MS. just referred to: but hitherto it seems to have been quite unknown except for the bare mention of its title by d'Avezac and Wright, repeating the notice in Nasmith and other Catalogues. It contains in the most complete form the text of Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum*, including the last chapter, usually supposed to exist only in the Leyden or 'Petau' manuscript: but its value was apparently unrealized by M. d'Avezac, when he prepared the (standard) edition of Carpini in 1838, reprinted next year in volume IV. of the Paris Geographical Society's *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie* (1839: this last being the form usually quoted). For the eminent French scholar depended for information (about *English* manuscripts of Carpini) on Thomas Wright; and Wright, though he examined in detail the Rubruquis MS. next following, seems to have paid no attention to its even more valuable predecessor, except so far as to make a bare mention in the Introductory *Notice sur Guillaume de Rubruk* (*Recueil*, IV. p. 210). In general the Corpus Manuscript has the closest agreement with 'Petau.' The additions which 'Petau' makes to the text of the earlier chapters (*De Moribus Tartarorum* etc.), and which are in several cases direct and avowed additions of the author's, when revising his work, appear also in Corpus, e.g. the passage *haec autem quae superius scripta sunt* etc., following the words *adversarii manifesti* with which Hakluyt's text (based on the 'London-Lumley' MS.) ends. This passage contains a personal note by Carpini (before he begins the Itinerary, or Narrative of the Journey proper) to the effect that in the military details he has given of the Mongol army and of the best manner of resisting that army he has no intention of trespassing on soldiers' ground, but only of furnishing *occasionem et materiam cogitandi*. The whole bears distinct evidence of belonging to a second revised and improved edition. The Corpus MS. is not only (with 'Petau') the fullest, it is also the oldest, text of the *Historia Mongalorum*; and it seems to have been written at latest within seventy years of the travellers' return from Central Asia, and probably (as Michel and Wright consider of the Rubruquis MS. in the same hand which follows) even before the end

of the thirteenth century. It is therefore to all appearance a few years older than 'Petau,' and the date of its execution may be fixed as probably falling within the years 1270—1290. In several places, moreover, Corpus contains more satisfactory readings than the Leyden MS.: but as a general rule the similarity of the two is that of sister texts; the differences are hardly ever more than verbal. Thus Carpini's four great name-lists—of the Mongol princes, of the nations subdued by the Mongols, of the nations that had successfully resisted them, and of the witnesses to the veracity of his narrative,—the last a catalogue which includes all the Italian merchants whom Friar John could remember as trading at Kiev on his return in 1247,—are identical in both texts.

There are in all thirty-two passages, longer and shorter, which are only to be found in the Cambridge and Leyden MSS.; which are to be found, in their entirety, with occasional slight variants, in both these MSS.; and which may all be considered to fall under the head of author's additions, inserted to supplement and correct the imperfect forms of his work already in circulation. These passages are the following:

(1) At the end of the Prologue, where Carpini declares his veracity and warns his readers against the incredulity which springs only from ignorance or surprise, Corpus adds with Petau: —*sed si aliqua scribimus propter noticiam legentium quae in vestris partibus* [*partibus vestris* in Petau] *nesciuntur, non debetis propter hoc nos appellare mendaces qui vobis referimus illa* [*alia* in Pet.] *quae ipsi vidimus vel ab aliis pro certo audivimus quos esse credimus fide dignos. Immo est valde crudele ut homo propter bonum quod facit ab aliis infametur* (*Recueil*, p. 605: supply after l. 32, p. 43 of this vol.). (2) At the end of the list of chapters, into which the main work is to be divided, following the Prologue, a heading is given for the last chapter as follows, both in Corpus and Petau: —*ultimo de via quam fecimus et curia Imperatoris et testibus qui in terra Tartarorum nos invenerunt* (*Recueil*, p. 606: supply in l. 8, p. 44 of this vol.). (3) In chapter I. § 2, both MSS. add the name of the one and only Tartar settlement which could be called a town, *quae Caracaron nominatur* (*Recueil*, p. 608: supply in l. 26, p. 44 of this vol.). (4) In chap. II. § 2, various details are added in reference to the personal appearance of the Tartars, *nasum habent planum et modicum; oculos habent parvos, et palpebras usque ad supercilia elevatas* (*Recueil*, pp. 611—12: supply in l. 20, p. 45 of this vol.). (5) In chap. III. § 1, an account is given by both MSS. of the manufacture and magico-medical use of the Tartar idols, *sed quando volunt illa ydola facere, omnes maiores*

dominae conveniunt quae sunt in stationibus illis, et cum reverentia faciunt illa; et cum fecerunt interficiunt ovem et manducant, et ossa eius igne comburunt. Et cum etiam puer aliquis infirmatur, praedicto modo faciunt ydolum et ligant super lectum ipsius (*Recueil*, p. 619: supply in l. 17, p. 47 of this vol.). (6) In chap. III. § 1, an exception is quoted to the rule that the Tartars forced no one to deny his faith, and a fear is expressed that if they could win universal dominion they would force the whole world to reverence their 'idol,' *excepto Michaele de quo dictum est supra. Quid ulterius faciant, ignoramus: praesumitur tamen a quibusdam quod si monarchiam haberent, quod Deus advertat* [*avertat* in *Recueil* text], *facerent quod omnes isti ydolo inclinarent* (*Recueil*, p. 622: supply in l. 9, p. 48 of this vol.). (7) In chap. III. § 3 there is in both MSS. a curious addition, on Tartar superstitions about the dead, and an illustration of the same in relation to Okkodai Khan, *et ossa illius equi quem comedunt pro anima eius comburunt. Et saepe etiam conveniunt mulieres ad comburendum ossa pro animabus hominum, ut nostris vidimus oculis et ab aliis intelleximus ibidem. Vidimus etiam quod Occedai can* [so in Corpus; *Occodai cam* in Pet., which the *Recueil* amends to *Occodai can*] *dimisit unum virgultum crescere pro anima sua: unde praecepit quod nullus incideret ibi, et quicunque incidet ibi aliquam virgam, ut ipsi vidimus, verberabatur, expoliabatur, et male tractabatur* [*expoliatur...tractatur* in Pet.]; *et cum nos multum indigeremus ad equum percutiendum, non fuimus ibi ausi incidere unam virgam* (*Recueil*, p. 629: supply after l. 38, p. 49 of this vol.). (8) In chap. IV. § 3, Corpus, like Petau, adds the Tartar saying in defence of their lice-eating habits, *dicebant enim Numquid eos debeo manducare cum mei filii carnes manducent et ipsius sanguinem bibant* (*Recueil*, p. 639: supply in l. 12, p. 52 of this vol.). (9) In chap. V. § 1, on the wild men of the desert, Corpus makes the same addition in essential, as the Petau and Colbert MSS., as well as Vincent of Beauvais, about these savages making camels-hair-garments; but for the final clause *ponunt gramina in vulneribus*...(when wounded by the Tartars) Corpus agrees with Petau in reading *ponunt gramina in manus* (*Recueil*, p. 649: supply in l. 36, p. 54 of this vol.). (10) In chap. V. § 1, Corpus, like Petau, adds the passage expressing the contempt of the Tartars for threats of coming ruin at the hands of any other nation. *Unde adhuc quando aliquis eos minatur* etc. Here however Corpus in the last clause reads *non teneremur* for Petau's *vero teneremur* and the *Recueil's non terremur* (*Recueil*, p. 650: supply in l. 1, p. 55 of this vol.). (11) In chap. V. § 1, Corpus, like Petau, gives a fuller account of the discomfiture of

the Tartar army by Prester John with the aid of Greek Fire. *Unde factum est quod ex igne graeco*, etc. Precisely as in Petau, the word *homines* is needlessly repeated in Corpus, after this;—*homines comburebantur homines et equi* (*Recueil*, p. 656: supply in l. 21, p. 56 of this vol.). (12) In chap. v. § 1, Corpus quotes the proverb current among the Tartars about their enemies the 'dogs,' *et de hoc adhuc est proverbium inter eos: pater tuus vel frater a canibus fuit occisus: mulieres autem eorum quas ceperant dixerunt* [so Corpus; *duxerunt* in Paris *Recueil* text p. 658, professedly following Petau] *in terram eorum, et usque ad diem mortis earum ibidem fuerunt* (*Recueil*, p. 658: supply in l. 40, p. 56). (13) In chap. v. § 1, the fable about the race shut up within the 'Caspian' mts. occurs in its complete form in Corpus, as in Petau, and (to a less degree) in Vincent of Beauvais, *in ea parte ad quam aplicuerunt* [so Corpus; *attraxerunt* in Pet.]...*conclusi clamorem exercitus...montem invenirent* [*invenerunt* in *Recueil* text, p. 659, professedly following Pet.] *confractum...attemptassent...nubes.. illi autem ex adverso... statim cum* [*ut* in Recueil text, amending the *non* of Pet.]...*propter causam praetaxatam* (*Recueil*, pp. 659—660: supply in ll. 8—12, p. 57). (14) In chap. v. § 1, Corpus gives the passage describing the terror of a fabulous Oriental people at hearing the sound of the sun-rising, *videntes quod nichil profiterent...immo eo tempore quo sol oriebatur...vocaverunt* [*necarentur* in the emendation of the *Recueil* text, p. 662]. Corpus here agrees exactly with Petau, and in substance with Vincent of Beauvais (*Recueil*, pp. 661—2: supply in l. 28, p. 57). (15) In ch. v. § 1, Corpus supplies the passage describing the Tartars' belief in their own future, and ultimate overthrow by another race, *quadraginta duobus siquidem annis pugnaverunt et ante decem et octo annis*, etc....*devinci*... Corpus here agrees with Petau exactly (*Recueil*, p. 664: supply in l. 8, p. 58). (16) In ch. v. § 2, Corpus supplies the passage referring to *Chirpodan's* expedition against various Moslem countries, *soldanos quosdam terrae Sarracenorum et alios qui sunt ultra mare* (*Recueil*, p. 667: supply in l. 31, p. 58 [*soldanum Damasci*, in other MSS., only]). Corpus here exactly agrees with Petau. (17) Corpus also supplies the passage describing, in chap. v. § 3, the ruin of Kiev more precisely, *unde quando per terram illam ibamus...nunc quasi in nichilum redacta est* [*reducta* in *Recueil*, professedly following Petau], *vix enim* [*enim* not in *Recueil*, professedly following Petau] *ducentae domus sunt ibi... maxima servitute* (*Recueil*, p. 675: supply in l. 23, p. 60). Corpus here exhibits some verbal variations from Petau. (18) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. v. § 3, describing more fully the

dog-headed monsters of the far North, *et humanum caput habebant sed faciem*, etc. (*Recueil*, p. 678: supply in l. 7, p. 61). Corpus here agrees exactly with Petau. (19) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. v. § 3, describing the Cyclopedes more fully *revolvendo se quasi in circulo: istos autem Isidorus Cyclopedes appellavit* (*Recueil*, p. 679: supply in l. 25, p. 61). Corpus here agrees exactly with Petau. (20) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 1, describing the rigour of Mongol military discipline, adding one detail, *et si omnes decem fugiunt nisi fugiunt alii centum omnes occiduntur* (*Recueil*, p. 684: supply in l. 16, p. 62). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (21) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 2, prefatory to Carpini's enumeration of the weapons necessary for action against the Tartars, *arma autem ista...habere* (*Recueil*, p. 684: supply in l. 20, p. 62). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (22) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 2, adding one or two details about Mongol armour, *loricas et...co-operturam equorum...corrigias de bove vel alio animali* (*Recueil*, p. 685: supply in l. 25, p. 62). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (23) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 2, adding a detail about the defensive armour of the Mongols, *quae duplicatur ex utraque parte...corrigiola* (*Recueil*, p. 687: supply in l. 20, p. 63). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (24) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 3, describing the Mongol 'heralds,' spies or scouts, *nichilominus tamen principes...homines et munenta...querendum* (*Recueil*, p. 690: supply after l. 3, p. 64). Here Corpus reads apparently *munenta* for *munita* of the *Recueil* text, which professedly follows Petau. (25) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 3, describing more fully the Mongol devices of wearing out their foes with arrow-wounds, and then closing, *et cum iam homines et equi sunt debilitati sagittis, tunc congrediuntur cum eis* (*Recueil*, p. 694: supply in l. 12, p. 65). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (26) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vi. § 4, describing how the Tartars may be frustrated in their efforts to set towns on fire, *extingui tamen potest, ut dicitur, cum vino ..confricatione palmae magnus* [sic] *potest extingui* (*Recueil*, p. 696: supply after l. 21, p. 65). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau, even in reading *magnus* for *manus*. (27) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vii. § 1, detailing more fully the oppressions and extortions of the Mongol tax-gatherers, *et quantum placet, absque ulla conditione...accipiunt* (*Recueil*, p. 704: supply in l. 27, p. 67). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (28) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. vii. § 4, detailing

the agricultural oppressions of the Mongols more fully, *dimittunt tamen...semina...sufficit pro expensis* etc. (*Recueil*, p. 711: supply in l. 39, p. 68). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau, even in reading *sufficit*. (29) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. VIII. § 1, describing more fully how the Tartars were preparing for another attack upon Christendom, *in martio praeterito exercitum invenimus.....per omnes Tartaros.....ad terram Rusciae* (*Recueil*, p. 718: supply in l. 26, p. 70). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (30) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. VIII. § 1, expressing doubt as to the exact date of the next Mongol invasion, *ignoramus tamen utrum...post terciam hyemem veniant...ex improviso* (*Recueil*, p. 718: supply in l. 29, p. 70). Here Corpus agrees exactly with Petau. (31) Corpus also supplies the passage, in chap. VIII. § 5, declaring that the author, in giving the suggestions he has done, only wishes to assist the military leaders of Christendom against the Tartars and not to dictate to them, *haec autem quae superius scripta sunt...possidebit* (*Recueil*, p. 732: supply after l. 3, p. 74). Here Corpus has some slight verbal difference with Petau. (32) Finally Corpus supplies the whole of chap. IX. describing the journey, *De provinciis et situ earum per quas transivimus et de testibus qui nos invenerunt ibidem, et de curia imperatoris Tartarorum et principum eius* (*Recueil*, pp. 733—773: supply after l. 3, p. 74). The title is exactly the same in Corpus and in Petau, and the text of the chapter which follows only varies in minute details, except for certain rather more important differences of name-forms; e.g. Corpus' *Lancisci* for Petau's *Lantisci*, the *Lancisci* of the *Recueil*, p. 734; Corpus' *Conraudum* and *Conradus* for Petau's *Conrandum* and *Conrandus*, the *Conradum* and *Conradus* of the *Recueil*, pp. 734—5; Corpus' *Durissa* for Petau's *Durisa*, the *Duxissa* of the *Recueil*, p. 735; Corpus' *Kiovienses* for Petau's *Kiovenses*, the *Kiovienses* of the *Recueil*, p. 769; Corpus' *Nongrot* for the *Mongrot* of the *Recueil*, p. 770, professedly following Petau; Corpus' *Coligneum* for the *Ugneum* of the *Recueil*, p. 771, professedly following Petau; Corpus' *Sancopoltus* for Petau's *Sancopolitus*, the *Santopolicus* of the *Recueil*, p. 771; Corpus' *Olaha* for the *Aloha* of the *Recueil*, p. 771, professedly following Petau; Corpus' *Cherneglorie* for Petau's *Gerneglorie*, the *Cherneglove* of the *Recueil*, p. 771; Corpus' *Polonai* for the *Polonia* of the *Recueil*, p. 772, professedly following Petau. Especially interesting is the concluding note (*Recueil*, p. 773) identical in Corpus and Petau:—*Rogamus cunctos qui legunt praedicta ut nichil immutent...Sed quia illi per quos transitum fecimus, qui sunt in Polonia, Boemia, et Teutonia,*

et in Leodio et Campania, suprascriptam historiam libenter habebant, idcirco eam rescripserunt antequam esset completa et etiam plene contracta, quia nondum tempus habueramus quietis ut eam possemus complere plene. Ideo nemo miretur quod in ista plura sint et melius correcta quam sint in illa: quoniam istam, postquam habuimus qualecunque otium, correximus ad plenum, et perfecimus illa quae nondum erant completa.

The Chapter Headings in Corpus differ both from the Petau MS. and the *Recueil* text in several details, though bearing the same general resemblance to Petau that has been already noticed. Thus, at the commencement Corpus has *Incipit ystoria Mongalorum* for the *Incipit historia* etc. of the *Recueil*, p. 603, professedly following Petau. For the heading to chapter I. Corpus has *De terra Tartarorum et situ* etc. for the *De terrae Tartarorum situ* etc. of the *Recueil*, p. 606, professedly following Petau. Similarly in the headings to chapters II., III., VII., VIII. there are variations of like character and extent.

M. d'Avezac (*Recueil*, p. 448) evidently considered that another MS. of the *Historia Mongalorum* existed at Cambridge—viz. one in a volume numbered 61 in the collection of 'Bennet' College: but this is the very same as the text in no. 181 in the present numbering of the Corpus collection, 61 being the number in Edward Bernard's catalogue, which, for Corpus or 'Bennet' College, is now superseded by Nasmith's. According to Bernard (*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, 1697; part iii. p. 133, no. 1337, referring to 61 in the list of *Codices manuscripti Collegii S. Benedicti*, and to the third item in this manuscript no. 61) the Carpini MS., called *Historia Monogallorum sive Tartarorum Pr. Omnibus fidelibus*, is the third piece in the volume, the Rubruquis MS. being reckoned as the fifth. This reckoning is reproduced by d'Avezac (*Recueil*, p. 448), the great Paris geographer evidently supposing that this MS. of Carpini was only noticed in Bernard and had been lost sight of since. But as a matter of fact, in Corpus 181, the Rubruquis text follows Carpini without any interval whatever, and the two form the eighth and ninth items (on the lowest reckoning) in the aforesaid volume. It is also noteworthy that Nasmith (*Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Coll. Corp. Christ. et B.M. Virg. in Acad. Cantab. legavit Matth. Parker*; 1777; in the general heading to clxxxi) speaks as if all the pieces were of one date, the whole volume being *seculo xv scriptus*, whereas they are of distinctly varying periods, and the two with which we are especially concerned, Carpini and Rubruquis, cannot possibly be later than the early XIVth century, and were probably written before 1300.

II. The Petau MS., on which d'Avezac's 1838 edition is based (reprinted in the Paris *Recueil*, 1839), is now the property of the University Library at Leyden, and is in the codex numbered 104 in the MS. collection of that library. It bears the signature *Pa. Petavius*, and the printed note *ex bibliotheca viri illustris Isaaci Vossii*. Paul Petau, André Duchesne, and Isaac Vossius, all owned it at different times before it passed to Leyden University (cf. Bergeron, *Traicté des Tartares*, p. 73; Edw. Bernard, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, part iii. p. 65, no. 2429; Casimir Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquis*, vol. III. col. 182; d'Avezac, *Recueil*, 444). The value and character of this MS. have been fully illustrated in the preceding notes upon its twin-sister at Corpus, Cambridge. In date it is probably a few years later than 'Corpus,' being apparently of the earlier XIVth century: d'Avezac's remarks upon its misreadings apply equally well to the Cambridge MS.: 'mais nous ne devons pas dissimuler que si l'exemplaire dont nous faisons usage est d'une belle et élégante écriture, il est déparé par de fréquentes incorrections'—and this in spite of its nearness to the traveller's own time and personal redaction. It is however incomparably the most valuable text of Carpini with the single exception of the Corpus MS., whose worth is almost exactly equal.

III. The Colbert MS., in MS. Lat. 2477 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, written about the middle of the XIVth century, is imperfect, like 'London-Lumley' and 'Dupuy,' and unlike 'Corpus' and 'Petau.' It does not contain the last chapter or the record of Carpini's journey, properly speaking; nor does it possess the author's additions already noticed. It belongs in fact, in some respects, to the first unrevised edition, though exhibiting a better text than 'London-Lumley' and one much nearer to 'Petau-Corpus'; but it has a special value as giving, besides Carpini's own text, the narrative of Benedict the Pole, which here forms a sort of introduction to, or first chapter of, the *Historia Mongalorum*, as well as the letter of Kuyuk Khan to Pope Innocent IV (fol. 67, v°, col. 1). It is a closely-written but admirably clear MS., double-columned, having 40 lines to a column. The narrative of Benedict the Pole begins on fol. 66 r°, col. 1: the text of Carpini, proper, opens on fol. 67, v°, col. 2 (*Omnibus Christi fidelibus*, etc.), and ends on fol. 83, r°, col. 2 (*adversarii eorum manifesti*, as in 'London-Lumley,' 'Dupuy,' and Hakluyt: followed by the peculiar terminal rubric *expliciunt gesta Tartarorum*). At the beginning of Benedict's text is the

title *incipiunt gesta Tartarorum secundum fratrem Iohannem ordinis fratrum minorum*, followed by the record of Benedict:—*Anno domini MCCXLV frater Iohannes de ordine minorum fratrum dictus de Plano Carpini a domino papa missus ad Tartaros cum alio fratre in pascha exiens a Lugduno Gallie ubi papa fuit profectus in Poloniam*, etc. (cf. *Recueil*, p. 774). We may note here the very early occurrence of the form *de Plano Carpini*, sometimes carelessly attributed to 'corruption' by later writers. The value of the Colbert MS. is thus quite peculiar; no other text gives Benedict's narrative or Kuyuk's letter, or the rubrics for subdivision of the chapters, followed by d'Avezac in the *Recueil* edition (cf. *Recueil*. p. 607, note 2): but apart from these advantages Colb. occasionally supplies us with better readings than even 'Petau' or 'Corpus.'

IV. The 'London-Lumley' MS. ['Lond.-Lum.'], in British Museum, MSS. Reg. 13 A. XIV, is the least valuable of all the old MSS. of Carpini ('Dupuy' not included, being itself a copy from Hakluyt's printed text). It was the only one known to the Elizabethan compiler and forms the sole basis of the text on pp. 21—37 of the *Principal Navigations* (1598—9; = pp. 43—74 of this volume). In the XVIth century it was one of the treasures of Lord Lumley's Library; in the XVIIth century it passed into the Royal Library; and in the XVIIIth century it came into the possession of the British Museum. On the flyleaf, fol. 1, r°, are the names of 'Arundel' and 'Lumley' written in a stiff hand at the foot of the page. The writing is close, difficult, crabbed, and of very peculiar character: the scribe was probably not an Englishman: the text is single-columned, has 28 lines to the page, and begins on fol. 198, r°, ending on fol. 213, r°. By a remarkable oversight two MSS. have been made out of one, at the same time that one of the two most important copies was passed by altogether. For while the Corpus MS. was never examined or collated, 'London' has been treated as a different text from 'Lumley'; and readings from 'both' appear together, in agreement or opposition, upon many of the pages of the *Recueil* edition of Carpini. Yet the 'two' differ only in this: 'Lumley,' as d'Avezac refers to it (doubtless misled by Thomas Wright), is the text with Hakluyt's mis-readings; 'London,' in the *Recueil*, is the same text as more accurately read by XIXth century scholars. The copy once 'in Lord Lumley his stately library' is no other than the identical MS. Reg. 13 A. XIV. The date of execution has been variously estimated, from c. 1270 to 1330; it probably belongs to the last decade of the XIIIth century, being a copy of the earliest (imper-

fect) form of the *Historia Mongalorum*; this form, as we have seen, Carpini formally complains of and repudiates in his complete, authorized, edition, represented by Corpus and Petau.

V. The 'Dupuy' MS. [D.] is only a copy made from Hakluyt's printed text in the XVIIth century. It is in no. 686 of the collection bequeathed to the Royal Library of France (now 'Bibliothèque Nationale') by Jacques Dupuy. The frontispiece of the vol. bears the date MDCXLVII and the signature 'P. Dupuy.' The fuller text of Carpini (first eight chapters) occupies pp. 1—19 (*Omnibus Christi fidelibus...adversarii manifesti*): the abridgment of Vincent of Beauvais follows on pp. 19—38, exactly as in Hakluyt.

In the critical notes to Carpini, given in this volume, where H. [Hakluyt] stands alone as supporting any reading, it is to be assumed that 'Lond.-Lum.' and 'Dupuy' read the same. Differences between Hakluyt's readings and those of 'London-Lumley' (and 'Dupuy') are always indicated. D.[upuy] of course, being a transcript of Hakluyt's text, should always agree with the latter, but here and there occurs a slight difference.

In the same way where A. [= d'Avezac's *Recueil* text] stands alone in support of any reading, it is understood that 'Petau,' 'Corpus,' and 'Colbert' have the same. 'A. with Pet.,' without mention of 'Corpus' and 'Colb.' carries the implication that both the latter agree with the *Recueil*. Where not otherwise stated, Corpus agrees with 'Petau,' even where 'Petau' differs from Colbert and d'Avezac; but normally the *Recueil* text [A.] which is based on 'Petau,' and therefore has a close agreement with 'Corpus,' will be found to have the support of 'Colbert' also, not infrequently preferring the readings of the latter, where they differ from 'Petau.' On the 'Petau' MS., and to a less extent on the 'Colbert' and 'Dupuy' MSS., d'Avezac did excellent work: but 'London-Lumley' was very badly collated for him by Thomas Wright, and the error of 'seeing double' in this case vitiated a great part of the critical commentary of the *Recueil* edition. It is obvious moreover that no edition of Carpini could be regarded as exhaustive which took no account of 'Corpus.' The present editor has attempted to examine with the greatest care in his power all the MSS. above described, except 'Petau,' which has already been adequately overhauled. No trace has been forthcoming of the Tournai MS. of Carpini mentioned in the XVIIth century by Antoine Sander in his *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* (Insulis, 1641, part i. p. 130) and said to be then known as G. 6 in the Library of St Martin of Tournai.

No Carpini MS. has any illustrations.

The MSS. of Rubruquis, whose whereabouts are ascertainable, are five; viz. one in London, three in Cambridge (all at Corpus), and one in Leyden, quoted in the critical notes of this volume as A, B, C, D, E. The same letters are used for the same copies in the *Recueil* edition of 1839 (ed. Michel and Wright, whose critical notes are referred to by the letters MW in the present vol.). A word may be said about each.

I. The London MS. (A) in the British Museum, Reg. 14 C. XIII. occupies fols. 225 (r°)—236 (r°). It is single-columned, written in a close and difficult hand, and has 50 lines to a page. It is truncated, ending abruptly [like MS. C] *et inter*, after the author has begun to describe the Chinese or Seres (*Recueil*, p. 291 = Hak. p. 117 = p. 234 of this volume). Hakluyt's text is based upon this manuscript. Its date seems to be of the middle of the XIVth century.

II. The first Cambridge MS. of Rubruquis (B) is in no. 66 in the Library of Corpus Christi College. It is of the first third of the XIVth century, is double columned, has 39 lines to a page, and extends from fol. 67 v° to fol. 110 v° containing the whole of Rubruquis as far as known (down to *copiosas expensas*). The handwriting is fairly large, but close and rather difficult. There are no proper chapter headings, but some of these are added in the margin in a later hand in a small niggling script. Other marginal headings are occasionally added, e.g. *Ibat ad incredulos*, *Sarthac*, *De mari non profundo*, *De terris tributariis Tartariis*. This MS. has the well-known illustration in the first folio (67) in the initial E (*Excellentissimo*), which is filled up with two roughly coloured pictures, (1) of the two monks, William de Rubruquis and Bartholomew of Cremona, presenting their report to the Saint-king of France, Louis IX, (2) of the same two monks on their journey. This is very fairly reproduced in the *Recueil's* facsimile sheet inserted after p. 212 (*Rec.* vol. IV., 1839). The volume formerly belonged to Bury St Edmunds monastery and is well described by Nasmith, *Catalogus libr. manuscr. quos Coll. Corp. Christ....legavit M. Parker*, 1777, pp. 44—6. The next MS. (C) apparently refers to B as containing the full text of Rubruquis.

III. The second Cambridge MS. of Rubruquis (C) is in no. 407 in the Corpus collection. It is of the earliest XVth century, is written in a small, close, and difficult late-mediæval hand, abounding in abbreviations, and extends from fol. 37, r° to fol. 67, r°. Like A, which it closely resembles in orthography,

errors, omissions and peculiarities, C gives us only an imperfect text, ending *et inter* (as Hakluyt): a MS. of Friar Odoric's travel-narrative immediately follows. At the close of the Rubruquis text is the note *Hic deficit multum: vide apud Sanctum Edmundum residuum*, an apparently clear reference to B. We may note that many of the misreadings of C, found also in A, do not exist in any other MS.: further, the initial letter is closely similar in these two sister-texts, while they alone give the full title printed in the *Recueil*, p. 213, *Itinerarium fratris Wilh. de Rubruk de ordine fratrum minorum anno gratie MCCLIII ad partes orientales.* No MS. reads *Galli* after *minorum*, as Hakluyt does, but the compiler's addition is perfectly accurate in fact.

IV. The third Cambridge MS. of Rubruquis (D) is in no. 181 in the Corpus collection. It is of the last quarter of the XIIIth century, is single columned, extends from p. 321 to p. 398, and is written in an admirably clear good hand, the same as that of the Carpini MS. ('Corpus') which immediately precedes it. This is the basis of the standard (*Recueil*) text, edited by Michel and Wright, 1839: it contains (like B) the whole of Rubruquis, but its value is clearly superior to B's, or indeed to that of any other MS. of the *Itinerarium...de Rubruc.* Michel and Wright, like Nasmith, describe D as forming the last item in the vol. (no. 181); this is practically but not literally true; for after the Rubruquis text ends on p. 398, a letter of Pope Martin is added on the same page, and the lower half of p. 398, with the upper half of p. 399, is occupied by extracts from Æthicus of Istria, with which the book closes: *ut ait Ethicus...gentes ad aquilonem...ubi Tanais exoritur frigore undique circumvallari inter Occeanum et Tanaim gens inquieta...incognita monstruosa ydolatria fornicaria in cunctis stupris et lupanariis truculenta a quibus et nomen accepit de stirpe Gog et Magog. Gens ista...sal et frumentum ignorat: comedit universa abhominabilia...Alexander Magnus...erexit portas et limina mire magnitudinis et induxit eas...bitumine incognito... Caspias portas.* No one appears hitherto to have noticed the occurrence of these passages in this MS.

V. The Leyden MS. of Rubruquis (E), written in the XIVth century, is to be found under no. 77 in the Leyden University Library. It was formerly in the Collection of Isaac Vossius, and was bought, after the death of that scholar, on Feb. 21, 1689, by Leyden University. Its agreement with D is very close, so close indeed that it has probably been copied from that MS. The text of Rubruquis is single-columned: the whole volume contains 191 leaves, on the first of which is the signature *po Petavius.*

Another MS. of Rubruquis—of the xvth century—is mentioned by Michel and Wright as existing in 1839 in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, previously the property of John Cochran and entitled *Rescriptio unius Cordigeri qui abiit in regionem Tartrorum* [sic] *ex precepto pape et regis Francie, quomodo se habuit inter Tartaros et etiam in itinere.* Of this the present editor knows nothing more. He has however re-examined, as carefully as possible, the first four MSS. above noticed, viz. A, B, C, D, and he has found the collations of the *Recueil* editors leave much to be desired. He has noticed all the mis-readings of Michel and Wright, as far as he has been able to observe them, and he has compared every line of the London and the three Cambridge MSS. with the text of Hakluyt, just as he has compared every sentence of (the fuller) Carpini as printed in the *Principal Navigations*, with the 'Corpus,' 'Petau,' 'Colbert,' 'London-Lumley' and 'Dupuy' MSS.

On p. 209 of the *Recueil*, it may be noticed, Michel and Wright speak of a London and a Lumley MS. of Rubruquis. As in the case of Carpini, they are one and the same, viz. Reg. 14 C. XIII.

In the critical notes to Rubruquis, given in this volume, where H [= Hakluyt] stands alone in support of any reading, it is understood that A (the London MS.) and C (the second Cambridge MS.) have the same; where P [= Paris text, i.e. the *Recueil* edition of 1839] or MW [= Michel and Wright] are similarly quoted without further note, D, B, and E (the first and third Cambridge MSS. and the Leyden MS.) may be assumed to be in agreement with the *Recueil*.

The pages numbered in the margins of the *text*, in heavy type, are those of the original Hakluyt of 1598: in the *notes* these page-numbers are inserted in the middle of the line-space, and in the margin the pages and lines of the present edition are marked.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

21, STAVERTON ROAD,
OXFORD.
July, 1903.

THE FIRST VOLVME OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English nation, made to the North and Northeast quarters of the World, with the directions, letters, priuiledges, discourses, and obseruations incident to the same. [p. 1]

Certeine testimonies concerning K. *Arthur* and his conquests of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of *Britaine*, written by *Galfridus Monumetensis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, *Anno* 1587.

Lib. 9. *cap.* 10.

ANno Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno, subiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eámque debellato populo subiugauit. Exin diuulgato per cæteras insulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia resistere poterat, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promissóque vectigali subiectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme, reuersus est in Britanniam, statúmque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

IN the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all

the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.

Lib. 9 *cap.* 12.

MIssis deinde in diuersa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Insulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò post: Ex collateralibus autem Insulis, Guillaumurius rex Hyberniæ, Maluasius rex Islandiæ, Doldauius rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnasius rex Orchadum Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aschilius rex Danorum.

The same in English.

AFter that king Arthur sending his messengers into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, aswell out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 *cap.* 19.

AT reges cæterarum Insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Islandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti milia essent annumerata.

[p. 2]

The same in English.

BUt the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of *Britaine*, taken out of M. *Lambard* his Ἀρκαιονομία, fol. 137 pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur sibi strenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas vltra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas Orientalis Oceani vsque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas insulas vltra Scantiam, vsque dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occultè. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweiæ vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britanniæ in augmentum regni huius, vocauítque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britannię. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de corona Britannię. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quàm in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cætera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prędicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

ARthur which was sometimes the most renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are apperteining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, euen vnto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and sauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obteined also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue
[p. 3] countrey, which is drie and full of | mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, & the Norses haue possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the

whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing sworne brethren.

A testimonie out of the foresayd *Galfridus Monumetensis*, concerning the conquests of *Malgo*, king of *England*. *Lib.* 11. *cap.* 7.

VOrtiporio successit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprouinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirissimis prælijs potestati suæ.

The same in English.

MAlgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obteined the gouernment of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conquest of the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland* written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of *Beda* his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

EDuinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantùm, necnòn & Menauias Britonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.

EDwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule aswell ouer the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection vnder the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by *Beda* to the same purpose. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.

ANno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbrorum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicèt regi in auspicium suscipiendæ fidei, & regni cœlestis potestas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britanniæ fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouinciæ habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quìn & Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior quæ ad austrum est, & situ amplior, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fœlicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & vltrà spatium tenet.

[p. 4] | The same in English.

IN the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Under which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was inlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought vnder his subiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he subdued vnto

the crowne of England (as we haue aboue signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of *Bertus*, generall of an armie sent into *Ireland* by *Ecfridus* king of *Northumberland*, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of *Beda* his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

ANno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfridus rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Berto, vastauit miserè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijs manus parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valuere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus se vindicari continuis diù imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quòd hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocyùs Domino vindice, pœnas sui reatus luerent.

The same in English.

IN the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of *Octher* made to the Northeast parts beyond *Norway*, reported by himselfe vnto *Alfred* the famous king of *England*, about the yere 890.

Cther said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Octher tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, vnlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he | was [p. 5] compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course, and in conclusion turned backe againe, for he durst not enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually thorowout

Fynnes liue by hunting & fishing.

The place whither the whale hunters traueile.

The riuer of Duina of likelihood.

all his voyage, he had euermore on his steereboord, a wildernesse and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shore. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth: forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traueile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of *horsewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length aboue seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and marueilously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Euery man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Marternes, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long apiece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

A Desert countrey. Fynnes. Biarmia.

Terfynnes.

The Fynnes and Biarmes speake one language.

Use of ye Morsses skinne for cables.

Sixe hundreth tame Deere.

The Fynnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales skins.

* Or, morsses, their teeth cõmended.

A description of Norway.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30. miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then may be traueiled in sixe dayes. Right ouer against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Queenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer land, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

The bredth of the moũtaines of Norway.

Swethland.

Queeneland.

Boats caried on mẽs backs.

The voyage of *Octher* out of his countrey of *Halgoland* into the sound of *Denmarke* vnto a port called *Hetha*, which seemeth to be *Wismer* or *Rostorke*.

OCther sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the
[p. 6] | South, there is a certeine *port called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first Iutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he come to Scirings hall, hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad,

The description of the sound of Denmarke.

* Or, streight. It seemeth to be about Elsenborg.

that a man cannot see ouer it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of *Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland, with diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had vpon his leerboord the Islands that are subiect to Denmarke.

Gotland.

Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland. It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke.

VVolstans nauigation in the †East sea, from *Hetha* to *Trusco*, which is about *Dantzig*.

WOlstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmarke. Upon his leerboord also, was Bargenland, which hath a priuate king, vnto whom it is subiect. Hauing left Bargenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. Wixel is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is apperteining to the Easterlings: and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of ‡Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of ||Eastland, and Wixel out of Wenedland, fall both together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

Bargenland, or Bornholme.

Wixel is the riuer that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.

Fruso.

* Vandals.
‡ Or, Prussia.
† Within the sound of Denmarke.
|| Or, Lituania.

The description of Eastland.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

Mares milke a chiefe drinke.

The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King *Edgar*, taken out of *Florentius Wigorniensis*, *Houeden*, and M. *Dee* his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

IHaue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this Brittish Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yer this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation: and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, wherby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances [p. 7] duely and iustly | appertaining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vsed) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most florishing monarchie of al els (this day) in christendome. Peaceable, I say, euen with the most

part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vre triumphantly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and iustly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Ædgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas cõgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago cõstituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ discrimina sustinerent. Flores Historiarum.

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enioying therof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus Ædgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Charta Regia, Henrici secundi.

Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe! howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation! though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

Idem quoque Ædgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

COuld, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yerely! and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may bee iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and

limits of this British Empire, | so that he could and would royally, [p. 8]
iustly, and triumphantly enioy the same, spite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest Prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best aduise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne ouersight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to set foorth Gods due honour, and secondly to vnderstand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

> Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus obseruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter inuestigare solebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iustitiæ studens, & Reipub. regníque vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum.

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and trauels for the marueilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessary vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or forrein countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the aduantage of that securitie, in ministring of iustice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not

squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subiects, how mightie or necessary soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus prẹiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie frõ forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comico-tragical) but with all his foresaide inuincible Seaforce, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Iustice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Ex charta fundationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus omniúmq; Regum, Insularum, Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum quẹ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, & exaltauit super regnum patrũ meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quẹ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorũ vltra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsq; Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius

seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.

| And againe this in another Monument. [p. 9]

Fundatio Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectae Insulę Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrísq; diebus (plus ęquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most euident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enioy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this Brittish Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmque Regum, Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the sonnes of King *Edmund Ironside* into *Hungarie*, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by *Florentius Wigorniensis* pag. 391.

An. Dom. 1017.

DEdit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapso tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos misit. Qui, licèt fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenùs voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitæque reseruandos. Quorum vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam

Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimonialem, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit.

The same in English.

EDric counselled king Kanutus to murther the yong princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of *Man*, taken out of M. *Camdens* Chorographie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1066. Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stainford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Noruegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus sirnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably enterteined by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal. Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa, hid 300.

of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw y^t^ they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselues with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would

send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of | Godred were come to full age. The [p. 11] king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus, hee sent messengers Lewis. vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistertium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer, the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Santwat, and they of the North obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundement that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare

came vpon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but he went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Unto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the birthday of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they tooke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not only beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterteined his Embassadours. Many gifts also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolued to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he com-

maunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned | sixe yeeres. [p. 12] After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of *Herergaidel, which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus, and Olauus.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. Also hee inriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his Islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus ye son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably enterteined. The same yere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants cõspired together, about the murthering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stoode

* Argile.

a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow.
1143. Nowe hauing committed this outragious vilanie, within a short space they diuided the Island betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the
1156. yeere 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Islands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, intending to subdue all Scotland vnto him-

selfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and | his [p. 13] brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate frõ the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irlãd, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, and slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was ecclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpõ the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant, because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably enterteined by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de iugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy cõming vpõ them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

King John passed into Irland with 500. sailes.

At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiers almost vtterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren *Reginaldus* and *Olauus*.

REginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is

so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue mee that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. | For [p. 14] the Island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow, when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald cõmanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediately with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus maried Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which cõmandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for y^e^ same purpose, Olauus fled in a litle skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the Islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together

with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called y^e^ isle of S. Columba. And vniting vnto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselues beset with their enemies on all sides, they were vtterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselues they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Unto which action Olauus gaue not his cõsent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

The Isle of Man aduaunced to a kingdome.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his

brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the South part of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway | with fiue ships, and burnt all the ships [p. 15] of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla, a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the south part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund, to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the islands: and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the island of Both, Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among

themselues, Olauus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the islands, was slaine in the isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the Kalends of Iune, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cõsultation together. Wherfore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of MacKerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enioyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably receiued by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yeere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he maried his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the Nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine medow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships, that he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerwary, he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwaht, which Iohn named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus [p. 16] the sonne of Olauus king of the Islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In y^e^ yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

IN the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the Sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots besieged the castle of Russin, which Dingawy Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demaunding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of *Harald*, slaine by *VVilliam* the Conquerour, vnto *Ieruslaus* duke of *Russia*, taken out of the 9. Booke of the *Danish* historie written by *Saxo Grammaticus*.

An. D. 1067.

1067. HAraldo cæso, filij eius duo confestìm in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus consanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Iarislaus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodùm nostri tem-

poris dux, vt sanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, indè Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The same in English.

HArald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subiects Iarislaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the ioyfull birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The state of the shipping of the *Cinque ports* from *Edward* the Confessour and *William* the Conquerour, and so downe to *Edward* the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. *William Lambert* in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

[p. 17]

IFinde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour, discharged almost of all maner of impositions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

The antiquitie of the Ports.

1070.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre

of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene gouerned.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Which be the Fiue Ports.

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,

I must say, that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde, and wrote (aboue three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

1250.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes cõtention betweene them of the Fiue Ports, & the in-

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene

habitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Iustices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receiue according to law and Iustice. Yarmouth, and the Fiue Ports. 1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the num|ber. For I find in an old recorde, [p. 18] that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence. 1268. Winchelsey first builded. 1277.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the seruices that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were subiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certeintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome proofe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

1278. And thus it stoode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renued in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.
The lowie of Peuensey, one.
Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.

Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.
Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.
The towne of Rie, fiue.
To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.
The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.
The Port of Rumney, foure.
Lydde, seuen.
The Port of Hythe, fiue.
The Port of Douer, nineteene.
The towne of Folkestone, seuen.
The towne of Feuersham, seuen.
The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

| These ships they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges. [p. 19]

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Five Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westhethe.

Douer 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it perteine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5 ships, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.
Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discerne the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be priuie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene profered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

The good seruice of the fiue Ports.

And amongst other feats not vnworthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into France for new supply of souldiers after his death, Hubert
1217. of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull
1278. seruice (and especially their good endeuour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall grant.

Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping. 1293.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the nauie of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no woorse merchandize. 1406.

The priuiledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard | the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same. The priuiledges of the fiue Ports. [p. 20]

Part of an Epistle written by one *Yuo* of *Narbona* vnto the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawen along perforce with them in their expedition against *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Mathew Paris* in the yere of our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among vs Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemie, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iustly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly wasteth infinite countreyes, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called Tartars, departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege vnto the very same *towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were there in the sayd towne on our part aboue 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. crosbowes, the captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high

* Neustat.

places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Antichrist his complices, signified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subiects, who suddenly being surprised in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference or respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkeises, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and sauage followers, glutting themselues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures disdeined to praye vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Olde, and deformed women they gaue, as it were, for dayly sustenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties vnto their magistrates, they engorged themselues with their bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian vagabonds retired themselues into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitiues, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannical king of the Tartars, had bene twise, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of Hungarie, menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, vnlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome vnto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the trueth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the deuill himselfe would haue beene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the citie of *Acon* at dice, euen in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of

sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shauen like a foole, and vttering an vncoth noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and so traueiling many countreyes, and finding in diuers places friendly enterteinment, he prolonged his life in this maner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in *Caldea*, he fell into a grieuous sickenesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backeward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce, and to vtter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages. This man the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer | the whole earth, they allured him by [p. 21] many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their countrey and maner of fighting &c., he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restreined from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts unto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselues alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldred, hauing flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their countrey in olde time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated far beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, and such like

vntamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they vse to shape for themselues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound vnto their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselues from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light horses to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And suddenly diffusing themselues ouer an whole prouince, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to *Colen*, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne countrey; sometimes to punish the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquere barbarous and Northren nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feats and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to S. *Iames* of *Galicia*. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction vnto the foresayd gouernours &c.

Libellus historicus *Ioannis* de *Plano Carpini*, qui missus est Legatus ad *Tartaros* anno Domini 1246. ab *Innocentio* quarto Pontifice maximo.

Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, nuncius ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præsenti, & gloriam in futuro, & de inimicis suis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato sedis Apostolicę iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & sciremus Domini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus priùs ad Tartaros proficisci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, siti, | algore, æstu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, [p. 22] & quasi vltra vires affligi (quæ omnia multo plusquam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis, vt voluntatem Dei secundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere possemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Christianis, vt saltem scita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis, ne forte subito irruentes inuenirent eos imparatos, sicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam stragem in populo Christiano. Vnde quæcunque pro vestra vtilitate vobis scribimus ad cautelam, tanto securius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipsi vidimus oculis nostris, qui per annum & quatuor menses & amplius ambulauimus per ipsos & cum ipsis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuimus a Christianis qui sunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a supremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta perscrutaremur & videremus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quam frater Benedictus eiusdem ordinis qui nostræ tribulationis fuit socius & interpres fecimus studiose.

Annus & 4. menses & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra *Tartarorum*, situ, qualitate et dispositione aeris in eadem. Cap. 1.

Volentes igitur facta scribere Tartarorum, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula describemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de ritu. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipsorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio subiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo Bello occurratur eisdem. De terra possumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de situ ipsius: secundo de qualitate: tertio de dispositione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta est in ea posita parte Orientis in qua oriens sicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem est terra posita Kytaiorum & etiam *Solangorū: a meridie sunt terræ Saracenorum: inter Occidentem & Meridiem Huyrorum. Ab Occidente prouincia Naymanorum; ab Aquilone mari oceano circundatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua est nimium montuosa, & in aliqua est campestris, sed fere tota admixta glarea, raro argillosa, plurimum est arenosa. In aliqua parte terræ sunt aliquæ modicæ syluæ: alia vero est sine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem sua decoquunt & sedent tam imperator quam principes & alij ad ignem factum de boum stercoribus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non est in parte centesima fructuosa: nec etiam protest fructum portare nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & riui ibidem sunt pauci: flumina vero rarissima vnde ibidem villæ sunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ esse dicitur satis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, sed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud Syram ordam essemus, quæ curia est maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet alias infructuosa sit, quamuis non multum, tamen competenter est alendis pecoribus apta. Aer in ipsa est mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam estate quando in alijs partibus solet calor maximus abundare; ibi sunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quàm plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi sunt etiam frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore vix possunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum essemus apud ordam (sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nusquam pluit, sed in estate: &

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in æstate in Tartaria.

* Al. Sclangorum.

tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando puluerem & radices graminum madidare. Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in sede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plusquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi est etiam in ęstate subito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyeme vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna est, sed aliter, sicut vidimus oculis nostris, (quia per ipsam circuendam quinque mensibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior est, quàm dicere valeamus.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex subita grandinis resolutione.

Iter quinq; mensium & dimidij.

De formis *Tartarorum*, de coniugio, vestibus et habitaculis eorum. Cap. 2.

Dicto de terra, de hominibus est dicendum. Primò quidem formas describemus personarum. Secundò de ipsorum coniugio supponemus. Tertio de vestibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma personarum ab hominibus alijs est remota. Inter ocu|los enim & genas plusquam alij [p. 23] homines sunt lati. Genæ etiam satis prominent a maxillis. Graciles sunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibusdam paucis. Pene omnes sunt mediocris staturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime crescit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure vna vsque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rasurę coronæ prędictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam & prætaxatam rasuram crescere vsque ad supercilia sinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnamquamque post aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxores vero habet vnusquisque quot potest tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel sorore ex eadem matre, sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris post mortem ducere possunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior post mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere tenetur. Reliquas mulieres omnes sine vlla differentia ducunt in

vxores, & emunt eas valde pretiosè a parentibus suis. Post mortem maritorum de facili ad secunda coniugia non migrant, nisi quis velit suam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Vestes autem tam virorum quàm mulierum sunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A supremo vsque deorsum sunt scissæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero sinistro vna, & in dextris tribus ligaturis nectuntur, & in latere & in sinistro vsque ad brachiale sunt scissæ. Pellicia cuiuscunque sunt generis in eundem modum formantur: superius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, sed a posterioribus est apertum. Habet autem caudulam vnam vsque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ sunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vsq; ad terram ante scissam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longũ protenditur ad vnam vlnam, & in summitate desinit in quadrum: & ab imo vsque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, & in summitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & est assutum super vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vsque ad humeros. Instrumentum prędictum est tectum de buccaramo, siue purpura vel baldaquino: sine quo instrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoscuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris suis possunt discerni: quum per omnia vestiuntur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliæ nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter describere non valemus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis subtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestrã vnde lumen ingreditur, & ut possit fumus exire: quia semper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt cooperta. Ostia etiam de filtro sunt facta. Quædam stationes sunt magnæ, quædam paruæ, secundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam soluuntur subito & reparantur, & super somarios deferuntur. Quædam dissolui non possunt, sed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod est magis, sufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt siue ad bellum, siue aliàs, semper illas deferunt secum. In animalibus sunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias bestias minime habent.

Vestes.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata, & de diuinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus suorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

Dicto de hominibus, dicendum est de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: secundo de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilium & inuisibilium. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum esse factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipsum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte ostij stationis, & subtus illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa credunt esse pecorum custodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præstare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis sericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante ostium stationis: & quicunq; aliquid de illo curru furatur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. | Duces, [p. 24] millenarij, & centenarij vnum semper habent in medio stationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & iumenti. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs & potu. Et cum bestiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor Idolo quod est in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt vsque mane, & tunc auferunt de præsentia eius, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam stationem honorifice, sicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris istius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet ascendere vsque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, sed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui se reddunt eisdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Russiæ, cum iuisset ad se reddendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes transire: Post hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod Bati & seruis suis inclinaret libenter, sed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Christianis. Et cum saepe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & nollet, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroslai, quod occideretur si non inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod potius vellet mori, quàm hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille satellitem vnum misit, qui tam diu contra cor eum in ventre calce percussit, quousque

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Russiæ.

deficeret. Tunc quidam de suis militibus qui astabat confortans eum dixit: Esto robustos quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & statim sequetur gaudium sempiternum: post hoc fuit caput eius cultello præcisum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potissime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obseruant. Neminem cogunt suam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper essemus in terra quod Andreas dux de *Saruogle quæ est in Russia fuit apud Bati accusatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet aliàs. Et cum tamen non esset probatum fuit occisus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occisi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens supplicare, ne terra tolleretur eisdem. Qui dixit par esse, quod vxorem fratis carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorẽ: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum secundum consuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui respondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quàm faceret contra legem. At ille nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamuis renuerat quantum posset: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & posuerunt puerum super illam plorantem & clamantem, & cogerunt eos commisceri coactione non conditionali, sed absoluta. Quamuis de iustitia facienda, vel peccato cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt esse peccata: quas confinxerunt ipsi & patres eorum. Vnum est, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum securi. Credunt etiam quod sic auferri caput debeat igni. Item appodiare se ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipsi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis sagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere: cum frœno equum percutere. Item os cum osse alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum super terram effundere. In statione mingere, sed si voluntarie facit occiditur: si autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia soluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam stationem & ea quæ in ipsa sunt inter duos ignes transire. Sed antequam sic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipsa portare. Item si alicui morsus imponitur, & deglutire non potest, & de ore suo eijcit eum, fit foramen sub statione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis calcat limen stationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent similia, de quibus longum est narrare.

De superstitiosis traditionibus eorum.

Ἐθελοθρησκέια.

ἀθεότης.

* Vel Sciruogle. Andreas dux Russię.

Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniusto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum est peccatum apud eos. De vita ęterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen quod post mortem in alio seculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc seculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt. Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruspicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipsis respondetur, credunt quod Deus ipsis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: sed Comani Cham, id est, imperatorem ipsum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reuerentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, & primitias cibi & potus. Secundum autem responsa ipsius faciunt vniuersa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt quicquid noui agere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt et deprecantur. Solem dicunt esse matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a sole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nuncij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera quę portant per duos ignes transire, vt purificentur. Item si cadit ignis de cœlo super pecora, vel super homines, quod ibidem | sæpe contingit, siue [p. 25] aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundos seu infortunatos se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quasi omnem spem suam in talibus posuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione eius vna hasta, & contra illam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: & ex tunc nullus audet alienus postes stationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de ijs qui morti eius assistunt, potest ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vsq; ad nouam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus est, si est de maioribus, sepelitur occulte in campo vbi placuerit: sepelitur autem cum statione sedendo in medio eius, & ponunt mensam ante eum, & alueum carnibus plenum, & cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo, & equus cum fræno & sella: & alium equum comedunt & stramine corium implent, & super duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo stationem vbi moretur, & iumentum de quo lac habeat, & possit sibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare. Aurum & argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, & statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vsque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam maiores. Vaditur in campo occultè, & ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, & faciunt foueam

Cultus lunę.

Ritus funebris.

magnam, & in latere illius foueæ faciunt vnam sub terra, & illum seruum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui iacet tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat respirare, & sic faciunt ter. Et si euadet, postea est liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & est magnus in statione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ est in latere facta cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ est ante foueam suam, & desuper gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus vlterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt vt dictum est. In terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces & nobiles omnes: & vbicunque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum & argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur, spoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipsi nescientes intrauimus terminos cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, & venerunt super nos sagittæ volantes: sed quia eramus nuncij consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes autem & omnes alij qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas hastas ponunt iuxta ignes, & vnam cordam in summitate hastarum: & ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de buccharamo: sub qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiæ & stationes: Et sunt duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, & quędam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si aliquis occiditur à tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

Idem mos sepeliendi fere in Florida.

Lustrationis ritus.

De consuetudinibus bonis & malis et cibis eorum. Cap. 4.

Dicto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de bonis, secundo de malis: tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prędicti homines, scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedièntes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui homines in hoc mundo, siue religiosi, siue seculares:

Obedientia.

et magis reuerentur eosdem: neq; de facili mentiuntur eis. Verbis ad inuicem rarò aut nunquam contendunt, factis vero nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt. Prędones & fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde stationes & currus eorum, vbi habent thesaurum suum seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ bestiæ perduntur, quicunque inuenerit eas vel dimittit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiæ apud eosdem illas requirunt, & absque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas. Vnus alium satis honorat: & ad inuicem sunt satis familiares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter communicant illa; & satis sunt sufferentes. Vnde quum ieiunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt quasi comederunt bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt homines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt: nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet quantum congruè potest. Mulieres eorum sunt castæ: nec de im|pudicitia [p. 26] earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco satis habent turpia & impudica. Seditiones verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamuis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est supponendum. Superbissimi alijs hominibus sunt, & despiciunt omnes: ideò quasi pro nihilo reputant, siue nobiles sint, siue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilem virum Ieroslaum, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos. Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcunq; erant viles, antecedebant eos, & semper primum locum & summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post eorum posteriora sedere. Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ sunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus sunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in sine pungunt vt scorpio. Subdoli sunt & fraudulenti, & si possunt astutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines sunt immundi, sumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis suis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem reijcit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. Valdè sunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi

Abstinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

Castitas mulierum.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Iracundia.

Mendacitas.

Fraudulentia. Sordes.

Temulentia.

Extortio.

Crudelitas. retentores, & parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatẽ in scripto redigi non possunt.

Cibi. Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandi possunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in necessitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnauerunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipsorum; eam obsederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipsis Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluuiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Mensalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panẽ non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere possent. Cum pinguedine carnium multum polluunt manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etiã honestiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltimo tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibum vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, & vnicuiq; prębet, quibusdã plus, quibusdam minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & si aliquando cum brodio lauant carnium, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etiã vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si abluunt, simili modo lauant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde ossa, nisi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate si habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruisiam, & medonem non habent, nisi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliũ cum aqua decoquunt, quod tã tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et vnus quisq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die mãducant. In sero vnicuique; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò mãducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam bestiam ceperint, siue auem.

Pœna adulterij. Legem etiam siue consuetudinẽ habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifestè. Similiter & virginem si fornicata fuerit, mulierẽ occidunt & virum. Si aliquis inuenitur

in præda vel in furto manifesto in terra potestatis eorũ sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si aliquis eorum deundat cõsilium, maximè quando volunt ire ad bellum, centũ plagę dantur super posteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à fuis maioribus non parcitur eis, sed verberibus grauiter affliguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, & si est de genere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per se suam stationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipsis maior est inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, & exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vsque ad magnum sagittarij sunt & boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus secundùm suam ætatem, & instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt & audaces valdè. Vir|gines & mulieres equitant, & agiliter in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare. Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando possunt durare. Breuissimas habent strepas: equos valdè custodiunt: imo rerum omnium sunt magni conseruarores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, vestes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt. Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velocissimæ sunt & strenuæ in omnibus operibus suis: fœmoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquæ, sicut viri, sagittant.

Furti.

Arcani euulgati.

Πολυγαμία.

[p. 27]

Fœminæ Metę incognitæ eodem modo vestiuntur.

De ipsorum Imperio. Cap. 5.

Dicto de eorum consuetudinibus, dicendum est de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipsius principio. Secundò de principibus eius. Tertio de dominio Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam est in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id est, magni Mongali vocabatur. Secundus Sumongol, id est Aquatici Mongali. Ipsi autem seipsos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus

Tartariæ populi.

Tartar fluuius.

Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnam formam personarum, & vnam linguam habebant: quamuis inter se per principes & prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iste incepit esse robustus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoscunque potuit capere, & sibi associare non demittebat: homines verò suæ gentis ad se inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipsum sequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, siue Tartaris, postquam homines aggregauerat sibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros sibi subiugauit & in suam seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum omnibus his pugnauit, cum Merkat, qui erant positi iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit: Inde procedens pugnauit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter eleuatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipsi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat strenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitum vniuersæ carnis exsoluens, filij eius successerunt loco eius; sed iuuenes erant & stulti, & populum nesciebant tenere: sed inuicem diuisi erant & scissi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus insultum faciebant in terras superius annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes sibi subiectos homines aggregauit. Naymani & Kara Kitai, id est, nigri Kitai, ex aduerso in quandam vallem strictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum transiuimus, similiter conueniunt: & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis sunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occisa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam *Omyl appellauit. Propè quam ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo syluestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine adiutorio aliorum minimè possunt, aliquantam tamen habent discretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes se contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui castra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt. Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu suo; & commissum est prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto

Cyngis ortus & res gestę.

Naymani.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Kara Kitai.

Occoday can.

Homines syluestres.

De mutua victoria Mongalorum & Kytaorum. Tartarorum Kytaina clades.

* Vel Chanyl.

exercitu fuerunt occisi vsque ad septem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanserunt in terram suam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuisset Cyngis, præparauit se rursus ad prælium & contra terram Huyrorum processit ad bellum. Isti homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant. Nouæ victoriæ litere.
Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde processit contra terram Saruiuorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & Vel Saruiur. Vel Karanitarum.
contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit. Vel Hudirat
Inde est in terram suam reuersus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuisset, conuocatis omnibus gentibus supradictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum processit, & cum diu contra eos pugnasset magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluserunt in sua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obsederunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expensæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnum darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnabant viriliter contra illos sagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuitijs erat plena. Et Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.
cum diu pugnassent, & eam bello vincere minimè possent, fecerunt vnam magnam viam sub terra ab exercitu vsque ad mediam ciuitatem, & aperientes subitò ter|ram, eis nescientibus profilierunt [p. 28]
in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra simili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem possidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abstulerunt. Et cum terræ prędictæ Kytaorum suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam sunt reuersi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuicto factus est Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ posita est in mari, vsque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytai autem, de quibus superiùs diximus, homines sunt Pagani, qui habent literam specialem; & habent nouum & vetus Testamentum; & habent vitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quasi Ecclesias factas, in quibus orant temporibus suis: Et dicunt se quosdam sanctos habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum honorant, & credunt vitam æternam, sed minimè baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant & reuerentur: Christianos diligunt, & Ecclesias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani satis videntur: barbam non habent, & in dispositione saciei satis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen sunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur

Kytai victi.

Cyngis salutatur Imperator. Kythaię pars in mari posita. Kytaorum litera, & religio.

Opificiorum laus.

in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus solent homines exercitari. Terra eorum est opulenta valdè in frumento, vino, auro, argento, & serico, & omnibus rebus in quibus solet sustentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuissent, suos exercitus diuiserunt. Vnum de filijs Tossuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id est Imperatorem, misit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & postquam vicerat eos in terram suam reuertebatur. Alium etiam filium misit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri sunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Christianos, qui sint in India maiori in pugnam processit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui vulgò Præsbyter Iohannes appellatur, venit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in sella posuit super equos, ponens ignem interius, & posuit hominem cum folle post imaginem cupream super equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis venerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij peruenissent, istos equos vnum iuxta vnum prẹmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid super ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, quod de fumo illo aer est denigratus. Et tunc super Tartaros iecerunt sagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et sic cum confusione eos de finibus suis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuimus, quod vltra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt in qua quædam monstra fœmineas imagines habentia reperierunt. Et cum interrogassent eas per multos interpretes vbi essent viri terræ illius, responderunt quod in illa terra quęcunque fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam: Masculi verò formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in vnum: Et dum esset hyems asperrima, se omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & post hæc incontinenti in pulucrem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelauit: & dum sæpè hoc fecissent, glacies densa facta est super eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum sagittas super eos iactabant, ac si super lapides sagitassent, retro sagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes verò insultum facientes in eos morsibus vulneraverunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de finibus suis. Et dum reuerteretur exercitus ille, venit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello vicerunt: qui sunt Pagani. Qui consuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miserabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum suorum humanæ naturæ debitum exsoluit,

Thossuch can Cyngis filius Comanos deuicit.

India minor debellata.

Præsbyter Ioannes: eiusdem stratagema.

Victoria de Tartaris.

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth regio.

omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Isti pilos in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam semper depilant, si fortè aliquis crinis crescit in ipsa: & multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram suam. Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuisit exercitus illos, misit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non vicit: & vsque ad Caspios montes peruenit, montes autem illi sunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum sagittas & arma ferrea ad se traxerunt. Homines inter Caspios montes conclusos viderunt, qui iam montem fregerunt: sed nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ad quam accedere non poterant vllo modo, quia statim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem plusquam per mensem vastam solitudinem transierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum iuerunt. Et peruenerunt ad quandam terram, vbi viderunt vias tritas, sed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæsiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum vxore sua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogasset, vbi essent homines terræ illius, responderunt quod in terra sub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta vxore misit virum | illum [p. 29] cum nuncijs suis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipsius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui responderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum suum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt se per vias occultas sub terra, & venerunt contra istos ad pugnandum: & irruentes subitò super eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & sui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam. Illos tamen homines, virum scilicet & mulierem secum duxerunt, qui vsque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare sub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum sol oritur, tantus sonitus est, quod homines nulla ratione possunt sustinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organis & tympanis, & alijs instrumentis, vt illum sonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, et habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius bestiæ eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depositis tamen stercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum suis illa comedit. Et ex hoc statutum fuit ab eo, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia quod manducari potest, exceptis stercoribus, proijciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam est reuersus: & ibidem leges & statuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obseruant. Ex quibus tantum duo

Incolarum mores.

Terra Kergis Orientalis.

Nota iter duorum mensium versus Orientem.

Troglodytæ.

Videtur hic sonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & niuium de montibus.

Cyngis lex.

dicemus. Vnum est, quod quicunque in superbia erectus, propria authoritate sine electione principum esse voluerit imperator, sine vlla miseratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipsius Cuynch propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipsius Cyngis can fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare. Aliud statutum est, quod sibi debent subiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, nisi prius eis subdatur, quo vsque veniat tempus occisionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum est eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui est occisus, peractis suis ordinationibus & statutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, secundus Tossuch can, tertius Thaaday: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Isti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem istius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc est imperator, Cocthen & Cyrenen. Et si plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Tossuch can Bati: iste est ditior & potentior post imperatorem: Ordu, iste est senior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Tossuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaaday sunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum nescimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen nescimus, filiorum nomina sunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater est Seroctan. Ista domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, est magis nominata: & potentior est omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas. Alios filios habuit plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc sunt ducum nomina. Ordu: iste fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes isti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iste est adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damasci. Isti remanserunt in terra: Mangu, Cuthen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatamur, Cyragay, Sybedey, senex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: sed iste inter alios est minimus. Alij verò duces sunt plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Interitus.

Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruile in omnes imperium.

Imperator autẽ Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium super omnes. Nullus audet in aliqua parte morari, nisi ipse assignet ei. Ipse autem assignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs. Centenarij decanis. In super quicquid præcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, siue ad vitam, siue vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam si petit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Aut singulis

annis, aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoscunq;, quotcunq; & vbicunq; transmittit, oportet quod dent ei sine mora equos subditicios & expensas. Vndecunq; venerint ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expensę similiter dentur eis. Nuncij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miseria sunt in victu pariter & vestitu: quia expensę viles sunt & paucæ: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, et ibi debent morã contrahere. Tunc ita parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix possint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, nisi semel in die, & satis parum. Insuper si aliquæ iniuriæ sibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè posssunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Insuper multa tã à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus & minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & si non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quasi pro nihilo habent eos. Et si à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: sed dicunt: A magno homine venistis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et si nuncij benè volunt facere facta sua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de necessitate muneribus dare. Et | sciendum, quod ita omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris [p. 30] prædicti, quod nemo audet dicere, hoc est meum vel illius; sed omnia sunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et super hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris statutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces super homines suos. Diuisi enim sunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocunque eos transmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quàm alij omnes equos subditicios & expensas, & qui equos custodiant, & etiam nuncijs seruiant sine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quàm alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines ducum idem facere tenentur dominis suis. Inter eos enim nullus est liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantũ volunt de rebus suis accipiunt. De personis etiam eorum disponunt per omnia, sicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, sicut superius dictum est, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habito consilio principum diuisit exercitus. Bati, qui in secundo gradu attinebat ei, misit contra Altisoldanum, & contra terram Biserminorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Comanicum loquebantur. Et cum intrasset terram illorum pugnauit contra eos, & bello eos sibi subiecit. Quædam autem

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

Occoday secundus Imperator Tartarorum.

ciuitas quæ *Barthra dicitur, diu restitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cadebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas replessent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur †Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, se sponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat destructa, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt. Et accepto spolio ciuitatis, ipsam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Ista ciuitas erat nimium populosa: Christiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Est enim posita super fluuium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde est quasi portus: & forum maximum habebant de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non possent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluuium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus submerserunt. Quo facto: postea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui similiter sunt Pagani: quam deuincentes, iuerunt contra Russiam, & fecerunt magnam stragem in terra Russiæ, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouiam quæ erat Metropolis Russiæ obsederunt: & cum diu obsedissent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando destruxerunt totam Russiam. De Russia autem & Comania processerunt duces prædicti, & pugnauerunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et si non fugissent, sed viriliter restitissent Hungari exiuissent Tartari de finibus suis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis restitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia si fugitis nullus euadet: Et si debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum est, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et si nunc est tempus, sustineamus. Et sic animati sunt & remanserunt, & Hungariam destruxerunt. Inde reuertentes iuerunt in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id est, Bulgariam magnam, & ipsam destruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bascart, id est, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes iuerunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Parossitas qui habent paruos stomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, sed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt se inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc

Orna super Don fluuium.

Kiouia ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna.

Hungaria magna.

Parossitæ.

* Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

† Vel Sarguit.

solo reficiuntur: Sed etiamsi aliquid manducant, hoc valdè modicum est. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogedos. Hij autem homines tantùm de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & vestes habent tantummodo de bestiarum pellibus. Inde vltra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram super Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monstra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes desinebant in pedes bouinos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & sic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam suam redibant: & sic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cyrpodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines sunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo est talis. Cum pater moritur alicuius, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; ad aurem de facie sua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deserta transiret, etiam quædam monstra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: sed non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant: & duo sagit- | tarunt cum vno arcu, & isti ita fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum vnum pedem, & cum essent fessi taliter eundo, ibant super manum & pedem, remouendo se quasi rota; & sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiæ: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnauerunt & deuicerunt. . Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vsq; ad terram Soldani Halapiæ & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec postea vsque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reuersi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terrã Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etiã subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bisantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mittunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, rogans vt eũ supportent. Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Frobisheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis.

Armeni.

Hij videntur sagittasse balistis.

[p. 31]

Georgia.

Terra Soldani Deurum.

Terra Soldani Halapiæ.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in pręlijs. Cap. 6.

DIcto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutijs in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus. Decem autem Decanis pręponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero expercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes sunt in bello si de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, nisi communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alij socij sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis & vnam securim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnusquisque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnius manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & sic faciunt vsque ad finem. Vnde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigiæ superiores ascendunt & sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt à cauda vsq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, & post sellam in dorso & etiam in collo, super renes etiam partẽ aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vsque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à fœmore vsque ad collum; sed est

facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus est stricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vsque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem istæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vsque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt aptę. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes istæ peciæ de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnius digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnius. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vnaquaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam super aliam ponũt, quasi ascendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas prędictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mit|tunt per foramina superius [p. 32] annotata: Et in superiori patre consuunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant sibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quasi corrigiam vnam, & postea ligant per pecias per omnia, sicut superius dictum est. Et ista faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod potest homo in eis faciem suam videre. Aliqui eorũ lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceę vnum habent vncũ, cum quo trahunt hominem de sella si possunt. Longitudo sagittarum est duorum pedum & vnius palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuersi sunt pedes, mensurã pedum geometricã ponimus. Duodecem grana hordei pollicis transuersio est. Sexdecem pollices transuersi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta sagittarum sunt acutissima, & ex utraq; parte incidentia quasi gladius biceps, & semper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum sagittas. Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longitudinem vnius digiti, quam imponunt in lignum. Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad sagittandum aues bestias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuersimodas ad aues & bestias sagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcursores præmittunt, qui nihil secum portant præter filtra sua, equos & arma. Isti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, bestias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & si non possunt

aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, post istos sequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quę inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, si inueniri possunt, accipiunt & occidunt.

Mos nandi flumina.

Quum autem ad flumina peruenerunt, hoc modo transeunt illa etiamsi sunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebras faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt, & stringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent vestibus, & alijs rebus, & fortissime comprimunt ad inuicem: post hoc in medio ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio sedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natare: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & sic transeunt fluuium. Equos vero pellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quẽ regit, natat: & alij equi illum sequuntur. Et sic transeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam bursam de corio bene consutam vnusquisq; tenetur habere: in qua bursa vel in quo sacco vestes & omnes res suas imponunt; & in summitate saccũ fortissime ligant, & suspendunt ad caudam equi, & transeunt, vt supradictum est. Sciendum est, quod cum vident hostes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnusquisq; iacit tres sagittas vel quatuor contra aduersarios: Et si vident quod eos superare non possunt, retro gradiuntur ad suos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduersarij eos sequantur ad loca vbi insidias parauerunt: Et si inimici eorum sequuntur ad prædictas insidias, circundant eos & sic vulnerant & occidunt. Item si vident quod magnus exercitus est contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliã partem terræ inuadunt & spoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terrã destruunt & deuastant. Et si vident quod hoc etiã facere non possunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecem dietas: aliquando etiã morantur in loco tuto, quousq; aduersariorũ exercitus separetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totã terram. In bellis etiam astutissimi sunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant sicut deberẽt pugnare. Duces siue principes exercitus bellũ non intrant, sed stant à longe cõtra inimicorũ exercitum, & iuxta se habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium esse credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ sunt inter eos transmittunt: & forsitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis. Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à sinistris,

vt non videantur ab aduersarij suis: & sic circundant aduersarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum sunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduersarijs qui circundati sunt, esse multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui sunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum est supra: quos credunt esse pugnatores: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et si forte aduersarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & statim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem separati insequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quàm mortificare possent in bello. Sciendum tamen est, quod si aliud possunt, non libẽter cõgrediuntur, sed homines & equos sagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si est talis munitio ipsam circundant, immo aliquando ita sepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire possit. Expugnant fortissime machinis & sagittis: & nec die nec nocte cessant a prælio, vt illi qui sunt in munitionibus non quiescant. Ipsi Tartari quiescunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna succedit alteri in pugnã vt non nimiũ fatigentur. Et si eam taliter habere non possunt græcũ proijciunt ignem. Imo solent aliquando accipere aruinã hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt | super domos: Et vbicunque [p. 33] venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quasi inextinguibiliter ardet. Et si ita non præualent, & si ciuitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium alueum & submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, & sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: nisi forte exterius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remoueant ipsos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blande eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærunt qui sunt artifices inter eos, & illos reseruant: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro seruis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum est, nobilibus & honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si fortè aliquo casu contingente reseruant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quoscunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos reseruare vt habeant eos pro seruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc diuidunt captiuos,

Qualiter munitiones obsident.

Punica fides.

& vnicuique seruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod maioribus placet.

De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. Cap. 7.

SCripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter restiterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis: quia, vt dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cunctas si possunt sibi subijciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quàm de rebus. Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro seruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil obseruant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthcan vt dicebatur & Bati: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicunque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quę viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando suum victum quærebant similiter deportabunt. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numerauit, præcipiens vt vnusquisq; tam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnius diei, siue pauper siue diues esset, tale tributũ
Vrsi albi. præberet: vt scilicet daret vnũ pellem albi vrsi, & vnum nigrum castorẽ, & vnum Zabulum, & vnam nigram pellem cuiusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Tentonice dicitur *illit: Poloni autem &
Dochon. Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & vnam nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicunque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi seruitutem. Mitunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant sine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, sed habentur vt aliæ viles personæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quàm vxoribus eorum, &

* Vel illic.

officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipsi etiam serui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærunt: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occasiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos ettam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, vt ipsi soli dominẽtur in terra. Idcirco quærunt occasiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vlterius nunquam dimittunt. Sicut factum est de filio Ieroslai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater siue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimittunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum. Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam duces quàm alij debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod sunt Tartaris infideles: & sic ciuitatem illam vel terram destruunt, & homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedit terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, & subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra | Tartarorum essemus de quadam ciuitate. [p. 34] Quod ipsummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non solum princeps Tartarorum qui terram vsurpauit, sed præfectus ipsius, & quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam siue terram transit quasi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior est apud eos. Insuper aurum & argentũ, & alia quæ volunt & quando libet ad imperatorẽ vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgiæ. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, veniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipsum iter arripuerat veniendi. Mater alterius scilicet Melic regina Georgiæ, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per fœminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in via. Illi autem cum venerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio suo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille vero respondit: Licet sim filius concubinæ, peto tamen vt fiat mihi iustitia secundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: vnde fuit data sententia contra filium legitimum, vt ille Dauidi qui maior erat subesset, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam

Solangi. Bascha, vox Tartarica, qua vtuntur Turci.

dederat ei pater: & sic donaria quæ dederat, & causam quam contra fratrem suum Dauid habuerat, amisit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe sunt ab eis, & coniunctæ sunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non sunt eis subiectæ, tributũ accipiunt & quasi misericorditer agunt cum eis, vt non adducant exercitum super eos, vel etiam vt alij non terreantur, se tradere eis. Sicut factum est de Obesis siue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta vel quadraginta millia, vt dictum est, yperperorum siue Bysantiorũ accipiunt pro tributo: aliâs ad hoc in pace esse permittunt. Tamen, secundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas vicerunt sunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, siue nigri Kytai, Comania, Tumat, Voyrat, Caraniti, Huyur, Soboal, Merkiti, Meniti, Baryhryur, Gosmit, Saraceni, Bisermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baschare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Parossiti, Sassi, Iacobiti, Alani, siue Assi, Obesi siue Georgiani, Nestoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui sunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perses, Thoas, India minor siue Æthiopia, Yrchasi, Rutheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ sunt plures, sed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris supra nominatis. Hæc autem sunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis viriliter restiterunt, nec sunt adhuc subditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum: Quædam pars Kytaorum, Sayi. Quandam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obsedederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipsi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & balistas. Tandem vnã viam sub terra fecerunt, & prosiluerũt in ciuitatẽ, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatẽ, alij pugnabant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnam partem populi ad extinguendũ ignem posuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnabat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulneraverunt, cõpellentes eos ad suos redire. At ipsi videntes quod nihil possent facere, & multi homines morerentur, recesserunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorũ & aliorũ vbi sunt quasi inter eos domini, accipiũt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus suis ponunt. Alij autẽ artifices dant eis de opere suo tributum. Segetes omnes condunt in horreis dominorum: & vnicuique vnum pondus satis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud nisi ter in septimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & post se cum omnibus

Samogedi aquilonares.

Mangia.

famulis suis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo sunt numero Tartarorũ, immo potius de numero captiuorũ: quia etsi inter ipsos sunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia sicut Tartari; sed habentur pro seruis, & ad omnia pericula vt alij captiui mittuntur. Ipsi enim in bello sunt primi: Etiam si debet palus vel aqua periculosa transiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipsos est etiam necesse operari omnia quæ sunt facienda. Ipsi etiam si in aliquo offendunt, vel si non obediunt ad nutum, vt asini verberantur. Et vt breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & pessime induuntur; nisi forte aliquid possunt lucrari, nisi sunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudine operum dominorum, vt sibi aliquid operentur, nisi furentur sibi tempus, quando forsitan debent quiescere vel dormire. Et hoc si vxores vel propriam stationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro seruis omni miseria sunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in bracis sæpissime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo solis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidisse. Audiuimus etiam alios esse mortuos, vel etiam de magno algore quasi in omnibus membris inutiles esse factos.

|*Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris.* Cap. 8. [p. 35]

DIcto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicẽdum. Primo scribendum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierũ. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutijs eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum & ciuitatũ. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captiuis eorum. Intentio Tartarorum est subijcere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet.

Dominus in cœlo, & Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, vt dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuersi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi

elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in præsentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus erexit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos occidentis, nisi forsan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Christianorũ populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam seruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ est hactenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obseruant, quando vident sibi tempora fauere: & subdoli sunt in omnibus factis & promissis eorũ. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole & artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominationes eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quã credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea vt scorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, & corpore debiliores quã populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores & principes & exercitus assignati. De decẽ hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorũ, de omni terra potestatis eorũ. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue octodecem annis. Tẽpus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247, si de terra sua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor *annis vsq; ad Comaniã. De Comania autẽ insultum facient in terras superius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt & vera, nisi Dominus aliquod impedimentũ pro sua gratia faciat eis. Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariã & Poloniã. Debebãt enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorũ veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à prẹlijs vsq; nunc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de nouo, iterum se de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Adhoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Prussiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in seruitutem redigere, quæ seruitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, vt superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa delebitur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Prussiam.

* Forte mensibus.

contra aliam terram; & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipsos cum promissis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: & post hoc quando securi esse possunt de ipsis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infœlicissimos seruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro seruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua prouincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de omni terra potestatis eorum, vt dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde si Christiani seipsos & suã terram, & Christianitatem volunt seruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cõmuni consilio homines contra eos ad pugnã, antequam ipsi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, vndiq; homines quærunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi cateruatim vndiq; quærunt homines & occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel ciuitatem, qui obsideant eam; & ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicunq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & balistas, quas multũ timent, & sagittas sufficientes: & bonum dolabrũ de bono ferro, & scutũ cũ longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarũ de arcu vel de balista debent, | vt Tartari, quando sunt calida, temperari [p. 36]
in aqua cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt: ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: & galeã & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum. Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire post alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt possint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conseruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legemquè debent ponere vt simul incedant ad bellum, siue aliâs, sicut sunt ordinati. Et quicunque relinquit alium siue ad bellum procedentem, siue pugnantem, vel quicunque fugerit, nisi omnes cõmuniter cedant, grauissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes, & sagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hijs qui remanẽt pugnant, & sic confundũtur & occiduntur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad

Temperamentum ferri.

prædam tollendam, antequam omnino sit exercitus contrariorũ deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur. Talis enim apud Tartaros sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest vt campus sit planus, & possint vndique videre: & si possunt habeant syluam magnam a tergo vel a latere, ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos & syluam: nec debent simul omnes conuenire in vnum, sed facere acies multas, & diuersas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent vnam aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non multum vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad iuuandum aciem illam, si fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à sinistris: & semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere aduersarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelã debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant post eos, propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adiutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare nimium cursum post eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Vnde non curant si fatigentur equi eorũ propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari cedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & post hoc terram libere ingrediantur, & eam destruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expensas, vt solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipsos & alios occidant, & destruant omnem terram; & propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die noctéque facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente & subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent iacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, vt possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas

Speculatores.

foueas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; & si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent fœnum & stramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis & sagittis expugnari nõ possit; & aquã habeant sufficientem & lignũ, & si fieri potest, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non possit: & quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident vnum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra & ciuitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & sagittas sufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; & suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt | Tartari machinas suas, debent eas [p. 37] destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, fundis & machinis debent resistere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Aliàs etiam debent esse parati, vt superius dictum est. De castris & ciuitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendũ est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cũ eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Vnde ponunt eis custodes, vt supradictũ est. Si autẽ aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello proijciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et si seruantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniã se adinuicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est vbi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent seruari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiã aliæ multę gentes cũ eis, quæ per formã superius annotatã possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si viderent tempus, & haberẽt fiduciam, quod nostri non occi-

Obsidio 12. annorum.

derent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsimet nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cũ eis, & plura mala facerent ipsis, quàm alij, qui sunt eorum aduersarij manifesti.

THe long and wonderful voyage of Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria; wherin he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow vpon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of sixe moneths through Comania, ouer the mighty and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and Iaic, & through the countries of the people called Kangittæ, Bisermini, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & so to the natiue countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme Northeasterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere & aboue foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum historiale.

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.

* Ascelinus.

HOc etiam tẽpore misit Innocentius IIII. Papa Fr. Ascelinũ de ordine Prædicatorũ cũ tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuersis ordinis sui conuentibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitũ Tartarorũ, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominũ strage desisterent, & fidei veritatẽ reciperent. Et ego quidẽ ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorũ, videlicet à Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorũ accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ superius per diuersa loca iuxta congruentiã temporũ huic operi inserui. Siquidẽ & eo tempore quidã Frater ordinis Minorũ, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano carpini, cum quibusdam alijs missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipse testatur, per annum & quatuor menses & amplius cum eis mansit, & inter eos ambulauit. A summo namq; Pontifice mandatũ, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, dili-

Simon Sanquintinianus.

Ioannes de Plano Carpini.

* Vide Mechouiũ lib. 1. cap. 5.

genter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps & socius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Ioannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum historialem conscripsit, qui & ipse ad manus nostras peruenit. De quo etiam hîc quasi per epilogum inserere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus historialis Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De situ & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

EST in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal siue Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & etiam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrã Sarracenorum. Inter *Orientẽ & meridiem terram Huynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciam Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circundatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, & in aliqua campestris, sed tota ferè admixta glarea plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluuialibus irrigetur, quę ibi sunt rarissimę. Vnde nec villę nec aliquę ciuitates ibidẽ reperiuntur, | excepta vna, quæ Cracurim [p. 38] appellatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cùm apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliâs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliquę syluæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omninò. Itaque tam Imperator quàm Principes, & omnes alij sedent, & cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de boum & equorum stercoribus factum. Ipse quoq; aër inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem æstate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximę niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum frigidissimorum tam maximę tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possunt equitare homines. Vnde cùm ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra prostrati iacebamus, & videre propter pulueris magnitudinẽ minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in æstate, & tam modicum, vt

Tartariæ descriptio.

Syra orda.

Aëris intemperies.

Orda quid.

* Vel Occidentem.

vix posset aliquando puluerem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sæpè. Vnde cùm Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in æstate subitò calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum species.

MOngalorum autem siue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati sunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vsq; ad supercilia eleuatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnamquamq; post aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Vestes tam virorum quàm mulierum vno modo formatæ sunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel caputijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccaramo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudulam vnam vsq; ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vsquequo desinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestram, vnde ingrediatur lumen, & fumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoq; de filtro sunt facta. Harum quędam subitò soluuntur, & reparantur, & super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissolui non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; siue ad bellum siue aliâs vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites sunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autẽ & alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac serico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorũ sunt omnia, quæ mandi possunt. Vidimus eos etiã manducare pediculos. Lac bibũt animaliũ, & in maxima quantitate, si habent, iumentinũ. Porro in hyeme, quia nisi diuites sint, lac

Tonsura.

Habitus.

Vestes retro caudatæ.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

Victus.

iumentinũ non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, vt illud bibere valeant. Vndè quilibet eorũ scyphum bibit vnũ vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem vnicuiq; datur de carnibus modicũ, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in æstate quando satis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, nisi fortè donẽtur eisdẽ, aut venatione bestiã aliquam ceperint vel auem.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

HAbent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, & quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quàm aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, siue religiosi siue seculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factisue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, belláq; vel rixæ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prędones etiam ac fures rerum magnarũ ibi nequaquã inueniuntur, ideoq; stationes & currus eorũ, vbi thesauros habent, seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, qui ad hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius est bestia, illam requirit, & absq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium satis honorat, & familiaritatẽ ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. Satis etiã sunt sufferentes, nec cùm ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omninò sine cibo, videntur | impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt, ac si bene comedissent. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, calorem quoq; nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt, & quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate sua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet, quantum congruè potest. Castæ sunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipsarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia satis habent & impudica. Porrò erga cæteros homines ijdem Tartari superbissimi sunt, omnesq; nobiles & ignobiles quasi pro nihilo reputantes despiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Russię ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinetiam Tartari eisdem assignati, quantumcunq; viles essent illos antecedebant, semperq́; primum locum & summum tenebant, imò etiam sæpè oportebat illos post eorũ posteriora sedere. Præterea iracundi sunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & vltra modum erga eosdem mendaces. In principio quidẽ blandi sunt, sed post-

πειθαρχία.

Abstinentia.

Comitas.

Temperantia.

[p. 39]

Castitas.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudulentia. modum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulenti sunt, & omnes homines si possunt astutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt sibi non possint Sordes. prouidere, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Im- Temulentia. mundi quoq; sunt in cibo & potu sumendis, & in cæteris factis suis. Ebrietas apud illos est honorabilis: cumq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidemq; reijcit, non ideo cessat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi sunt exactores, tenacissimi retentores, par- δωροδοκία. cissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio apud illos est pro nihilo.

De legibus & consuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

Pœna adulterij. HOc autem habent in lege siue consuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, si quando inueniantur in adulterio manifestè. Similiter etiam virginem, si fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt Furti. eam cum eo. Præterea si aliquis in præda vel furto manifesto Arcani euulgati. inuenitur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si quis denudauit consilia, maximè quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei super posteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores vnus rusticus cum magno baculo potest dare. Similiter cùm aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus suis parcitur, sed ver- Leges matrimoniorum. beribus grauiter affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & sorore ex eadem matre. Nam sororem tantùm ex patre, & vxorem quoq; patris, post eius mortem solent ducere. Vxorẽ etiam fratris alius frater iunior, post eius mortem, vel alius de parentela, tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc essemus in terra, * Andreas Dux Russiç. Dux quidam Russiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Baty, quòd equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, & alijs venderet, accusatus est: quod licet non esset probatum, occisus est. Hoc audiens iunior frater, & vxor occisi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, supplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eisdem. At ille paruo præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, secundum Tartarorum consuetudinẽ. Quæ respondit, se potius occidi velle, quàm sic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum possent. Itaq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantẽ super illam posuerunt, ipsosq; commisceri pariter coëgerunt. Deniq; post mortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili solent ad secunda coniugia transire, nisi

* Vide Herbersteinium de rebus Moschoui. pug. 8. b.

fortè quis velit sororiam aut nouercam suam ducere. Nulla verò differentia est apud eos inter filiũ vxoris & concubinæ, sed dat pater quod vult vnicuiq;. Itaq; si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cùm rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, vnum scilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, moriensq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquisset, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datisq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iustitia secundum morem Tartarorum. Dataq; est sententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, subesset, ac terrã à patre sibi concessam quietè ac pacificè possideret. Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquæq; per se suam habet familiam & stationem. Et vna die Tartarus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quã cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum est, sint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se.

Melich & Dauid fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

De superstitiosis traditionibus ipsorum. Cap. 7.

QVibusdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quędã esse peccata dicunt, quas vel ipsi vel antecessores eorum confinxerunt. Vnum est, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocunq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum securi | iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd [p. 40] sic auferri debeat caput igni. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipsi enim non vtuntur calcaribus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, iunenes aues capere vel occidere, cum frẹno equum percutere, os cum osse alio frangere. Itemq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multã incantatori soluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui morsellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit, & illum de ore suo eijcit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ repu-

ἐθελοθρησκεία.

ἀθεότης.

tant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diripere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo viuant, gregésque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hîc à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipsamq; Lunam Imperatorem magnum appellant, eamq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas hastas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in summitate hastarum ponunt. Ligantq; super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissiones, sub qua scilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes transeunt homines, ac bestiæ ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Statio siquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & vestes, & quicquid talium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respuuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nuncij, vel Principes, aut qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera sua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

Cultus lunæ.

Lustrationis ritus.

Ignis superstitiosa efficacitas.

De initio imperij siue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartariæ populi.

TErra quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est suprà, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipsos appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram currente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkat. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam personarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter se per Principes ac prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoscunque poterat, captiuabat, sibiq; associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinauit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, siue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoq; bello sibi

Chingis ortus & res gestæ.

Tartaros omnes subiecit, & in seruitutem redegit. Post hęc cum istis omnibus contra Merkatas, iuxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnauit, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnã exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter eleuatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerant Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctę nationes prædictæ. Qui cùm esset mortuus, filij eius successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia iuuenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad inuicem diuisi ac scissi erant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diripiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subiectos congregauit. Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerso similiter in quandam vallem strictam conuenerunt, & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti sunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occisi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorũ Karakytaorum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquã imperator fuit positus, quandã ciuitatem ædificauit, quã Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddã desertum magnũ, in quo pro certo syluestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, & si quando cadunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulneribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipsos fugiunt.

* Naymani.

Fratres discordantes oppressi.

Occoday Cham.

Homines syluestres.

| *De mutua victoria ipsorum & Kythaorum.* Cap. 9. [p. 41]

MOngali autem in terram suam reuertentes, se contra †Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & castra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu suo contra illos, & commissum est prelium durũ, in quo Mongali sunt deuicti, omnesq́; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter septem occisi sunt. Vnde cùm illis volentibus aliquam impugnare regionẽ, minatur aliquis stragem, adhuc respondent: Olim etiam occisi non nisi septem remansimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoq́; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanserunt, in terram suam fugerunt. Cumq́;

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

* Infra cap. 25.

† *Haythono & Paulo Veneto sunt Cathay.*

Nouæ victoriç.

quieuisset aliquantulum, præparauit se rursus ad prælium, & processit contra terram Huyrorum. Isti sunt homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum. Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq́; literam acceperunt; prius enim scripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellant. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Karanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat processit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram suam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus suis, contra Kythaos pariter processerunt, diuq́; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum vicerunt, eorumq́; Imperatorem in ciuitatem suam maiorem concluserunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obsederunt, quod exercitus expensæ omninò defecerunt. Cumq́; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingischam suis, vt de decẽ hominibus vnũ ad manducandum darent. Illi verò de ciuitate machinis & sagittis viriliter contra istos pugnabãt, & cùm deficerent lapides, argentũ & maximè liquefactum proijciebant. Ciuitas siquidẽ illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cumq́; diu Mongali pugnassent, & eam bello vincere non possent, vnam magnã sub terra viam ab exercitu vsq́; ad mediũ ciuitatis fecerunt, & prosilientes in mediũ eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanserant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes vrbem possederunt, aurumq́; & argentum, & omnes eius diuitias abstulerunt. Et cùm illi terrę suos homines præfecissent, in terrã propriam reuersi sunt. Tunc primum Imperatore Kythaorum deuicto, factus est Chingischam imperator. Quandam tamen partẽ illius terræ, quia posita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vsq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam specialem, & etiam, vt dicitur, veteris & noui Testamenti scripturam. Habent etiam vitas patrũ & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus suis, ad modum Ecclesiarum factas. Quosdam etiam sanctos habere se dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Christum IESVM Dominum venerantur, & credunt vitã æternam, sed non baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant ac reuerentur. Christianos diligunt, & eleemosynas plures faciunt, homines benigni satis & humani videntur. Barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores attifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum est opulenta nimis in frumento & vino, auro & serico ac rebus cæteris.

Literæ.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

Chingis salutatur Imperator.

Cathaynorum literæ & religio.

Opificiorum ἐξοχή.

De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem & maiorem. Cap. 10.

CVm autem Mongali cum Imperatore suo Chingischam post prẹfatam victoriã aliquantulum quieuissent, exercitus suos diuiserunt. Imperator siquidem vnum de filijs suis nomine Thosut, quem etiam Can, id est, Imperatorẽ appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos misit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & postmodum in terram suam redijt. Alium verò filiũ cum exercitu contra Indos misit, qui & minorem Indiam subiecit. Hi sunt nigri Sarraceni, qui Æthipes sunt vocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Christianos, qui sunt in India maiori, processit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui vulgò *Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos venit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquanq; posuit in sella super equum. Posuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle super equum post imaginem. Itaq́; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos seu Tartaros processerunt. Et cùm ad locum prælij peruenissent, equos istos vnum iuxta alium prẹmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, nescio quid super ignem, qui erat intra imagines, posuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, vt ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aër ex fumo denigraretur. Túmque super Tartaros sagittas iecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sícq; eiecerunt illos cum magna confusione de suis finibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipsos vltra redierint audiuimus.

Thossut Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris Indiæ stratagema.

Victoria.

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Burithabethinos vicerunt. Cap. 11. [p. 42]

CVm autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur, monstra quædam, imaginem fœmineam habentia, repererunt. Quas cùm per multos interpretes interrogassent, vbi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quòd in illa terra quæcunq; fœminę nascebãtur, habebant formã humanam, masculi vero speciẽ

De monstrosis mulieribus & canibus monstrosa narratio.

* *Vide scolion in lib.* 1. *cap.* 51. *M. Pauli Veneti.*

caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, *Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cùm esset hyems asperrima omnes se in aquam proiecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in puluerẽ voluebantur, sicq; puluis admixtus aquę super eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos iaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorũ in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, morsibus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, sicq; illos de suis finibus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos est prouerbium de hoc facto, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorũ, quas ceperant, ad terrã suã duxerunt, & vsq; ad diẽ mortis eorũ ibidẽ fuerunt. Cùm autẽ exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cùm enim alicuius pater humanæ naturæ soluit debitum, congregant omnẽ parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reuersus.

Burithabeth regio.

Incolarum mores.

Qualiter à montibus Caspijs, & ab hominibus subterraneis repulsi sunt. Cap. 12.

Alia Chingis expeditio.

CHingischam etiã illo tẽpore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientẽ, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidẽ vsq; ad montes Caspios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideóq; sagittas & arma ferrea illorũ ad se traxerunt. Homines autẽ inter Caspios montes conclusi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cùm alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cumq; ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quędam erat posita ante ipsos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. †Omninò quippe visum amittebant, statim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex

* Forsan autem videri allegorica allusio possit ad Canibales de quibus Petrus Martyr Mediolan. de rebus Oceanicis.

† Vide an Hamsem regionem dicat: de qua Haythonus cap. 10.

aduerso credentes, quòd Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquàm per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itaq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidem tritas videbant, sed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quęrentes, vnũ hominem cum vxore sua repererunt, quos in prȩsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cùm interrogasset illos, vbi homines illius terræ essent, responderunt, quòd in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta vxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingischam eis mandauit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & subitò super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vnam aurem ad terram ponere, & superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam & sui, quòd nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam vsque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra soleant habitare, dixerunt, quòd ibi quodam tempore anni, cúm oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæterisque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, vt sonitum illum non audiant.

Troglodytæ.

Fabulosus Solis orientis sonitus.

De statutis Chingischam, et morte ipsius, et filijs ac Ducibus. Cap. 13. [p. 43]

CVm autem de terra illa reuerteretur Chingischam, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius bestiæ recentia casu inuenerunt: quæ accipientes, depositis tantum stercoribus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingischam deportata pariter comederunt. Ideoq; statuit Chingischam, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia, quæ manducari potest, proijciatur, exceptis stercoribus. Inde ergò in terram

Chingis lex.

propriam reuersus est, ibiq; leges & statuta edidit, quæ Tartari inuiolabiliter obseruant, de quibus scilicet iam aliâs superiùs dictum est. Post hoc ab ictu tonitrui occisus est. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocabatur primus, Thossut Can secundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iiij. descenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thossut Can sunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy post Imperatorem omnibus ditior est ac potentior. Ordu verò omnium Ducum senior. Filij Thiaday, sunt Hurin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingischam, cuius ignoramus nomen, sunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan est, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem sunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Huryn & Cadan & Syban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria. Sed & Cyrpodan, qui adhuc est vltra mare contra quosdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ. Alij verò remanserunt in terra, scilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Correnſa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures sunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota sunt.

Interitus. Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

De potestate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruile in omnes imperium.

POrrò Imperator eorum, scilicet Tartarorum, super omnes habet mirabile dominium. Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, nisi vbi assignauerit ipse. Et ipse quidem assignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs assignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, vel vbicunque, sine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etsi petit alicuius filiam virginem,vel sororem, mox ei sine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & si vult aliquas retinere, sibi retinet, alias verò dat suis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoscunq; & vbicunq; transmittat, oportet quòd dent ei sine mora equos & expensas. Similiter vndecunque veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & currus & expensas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miseria, & victus & vestitus penuria sunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum datur

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

decem hominibus, quòd vix inde possent duo viuere. Insuper & si aliquæ illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile possunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis petuntur: quæ si non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quasi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expensis à fidelibus erant datæ, de necessitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique sic omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum est vel illius, sed omnia, scilicet res & iumenta ac homines, sunt ipsius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit statutum eiusdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces super sibi subditos homines.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

MOrtuo, vt suprà dictum est, Cyngischam, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem. Occoday surrogatur patri. Qui habito consilio Principum, diuisit exercitus. Misitq́; Bathy, qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altissodan & contra terram Bisminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, sed loquebantur Comanicum. Bathy eiúsq; expeditio. Qui terram illorum ingressus, cum eis pugnauit, eosq́; sibi bello subiecit. Quędam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Barchin ciuitas. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuissent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguit hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, spontè in manus eorum se tradentes. Sarguit ciuitas. Vnde ciuitas eorum destructa non fuit, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transtulerunt, acceptisq́; spolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt. Hæc erat nimium populosa & diuitijs copiosa. Orna ciuitas. Erant enim | ibi plures Christiani, videlicet [p. 44] Gasari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Eratq́; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium. Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluuium, & est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq́; Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per vrbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus submerserunt. Quo facto, contra Russiam perrexerunt, & magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Russiæ metropolin, diu obsederunt, & tandem ceperunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. *Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & ossa hominum

* Vide Mechouium, lib. 1. ca. 3.

mortuorum, iacentia super campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valdè magna & populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducentę, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima seruitute. Porrò de Russia & de Comania Tartari contra Hungaros & Polonos processerunt, ibiq; plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent.

Morduani. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eosq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra

Bulgaria magna. Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omninò destruxerunt.

Hungaria magna. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc ampliùs

Parossitę. ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes stomachos & os paruum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant,

Samogetę. hoc valdè modicum est. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantùm de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula vestesq; tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super

Monstra aquilonaria. Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monstra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, sed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertiò latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

† *De his regionibus Herbersteinius pag.* 8. *b* & 91. *b. Paret enim hodie vtraq; Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag.* 106. *b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

Expeditio Cyrpodanis. EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello superauit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, vt cùm alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; aurem de facie sua leuet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cùm transirent per deserta quædam, monstra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu sagittabant, adeoq; fortiter currebant, quòd equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant autem super vnum pedem illum saltando, & cùm essent fatigati,

taliter eundo ibant super manum & pedem, se tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cumq; sic etiam fessi essent, iterum secundùm priorem modum currebant. Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncij venerunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superiùs annotati, vt possent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem. Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperarum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum deuicerunt. Denique processerunt vlterius debellando ac vincendo vsque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec postea reuersi sunt in terram suam vsq; hodiè. Idemq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterisq; muneribus, ei quotidiè pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna trasmittens, vt eum supportent, rogat. Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia subacta.

Soldanus Halapię.

†

Calipha Baldacensis.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

ORdinauit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctoq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant respectum. Cumq; in bello contra aliquos congrediuntur, nisi | communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occi- [p. 45]
duntur. Et si vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, socij eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam occiduntur. Porrò arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Tresq; pharetras sagittis plenas, & vnam securim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantùm incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verùm loricas & equorum cooperturas quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina.

Armatura.

Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnius digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinẽ faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt. Sicq́; laminas, vnam alij quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itaq́; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immissis, ligant, & in superiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola consuunt, vt laminæ simul benè firmiterq́; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad cooperturas equorum, quàm ad armaturas hominum. Adeoq́; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex vtraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, semperq́; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, nisi ad castra & ad custodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantùm de nocte. In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos xlij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicârunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissimeq́; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Huiusmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter natare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alij equi sequuntur illum, & sic transeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam bursam vel saccum de corio benè consutum habet, in quo res suas omnes imponit, & in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sicq́; modo prędicto transit.

Vsus bellorum.

Mostranandi flumina.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æstimo prouinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere: quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in

acie primos ponunt, & si malè pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaq; si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeantq́; pugnatores arcus fortes & balistas, quas multùm timent, sagittasq́; sufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum more Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendū illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, & si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, & contra ipsos arcubus vel balistis traijcere. Et sicut dictum est suprà de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicunq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absq; miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, vt vndiq́; possint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, sed acies multas & diuisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primò veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata sit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies cęteræ. Nam ideò semper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur aduersarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, diu post illos currant, ne fortè, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Præterea si cedunt Tartari, non ideò debent nostri recedere, vel ab in|uicem separari: quoniam [p. 46] hoc simulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & sic ad terræ destructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterùm Duces nostri die noctúque facere debent exercitum custodiri: nec iacere spoliati, sed semper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quasi Dæmones semper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porrò si aliqui Tartarorum in bello de suis equis proijciuntur, statim capiendi sunt, quia quando sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos hominesq́; vulnerant.

Παραίνεσις de bello contra Tartaros gerendo.

Ferri temperamentum.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vsque ad primam custodiam Tartarorum. Cap. 19.

NOs igitur ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ cùm iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergẽtes, ad regem Boëmorũ peruenimus: qui cùm esset nobis familiaris, consuluit, vt per Poloniam & Russiam iter ageremus. Habebat enim consanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Russiam intrare possemus. Datisq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expensas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates eius, quo vsque ad Ducem Slesiæ Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipse nobis similiter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem *Lautisciæ, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Wasilico, Dux Russiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuimus Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miserat, qui iam redierant ad ipsum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quasdam pelles castorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemosynam ad subsidiũ viæ. Quod agnoscentes Dux Conradus & †Ducissa Cracouiæ, & Episcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiusmodi pelles. Denique Dux Wasilico à Duce Cracouiæ, & Episcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, secum nos in terram suam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quiesceremus, aliquot diebus nos in expensis suis detinuit. Et cùm rogatus à nobis, fecisset Episcopos suos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad sanctæ matris Ecclesię vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipsi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quàm Episcopos & alios. Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Wasiliconis prædicti, præsens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter respondere. Post hæc Dux Wasilico transmisit nos vsque in Kiouiam metropolin Russiæ, cum seruiente vno. Ibamus tamen in periculo capitis semper propter Lituanos, qui sæpè faciebant insultum super terram Russiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus transire. At per prædictum seruientem eramus securi à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occisa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porrò in Danilone vsque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cùm ergò Kiouiam perueni-

Itinerarium Ioann. & sociorum legatorum.

Boleslaus Dux Silesiæ.

Literę Papę ad Russos.

Daniel, frater Basilij.

Lituani.

* *Mazouie.* † *Grimislaua, vt Mechouius lib. 1. cap. 9.*

mus, habuimus de via nostra consilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus. Qui responderunt nobis, quòd si duceremus equos illos, quos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cùm essent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia nescirent herbam fodere sub niue, sicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri posset aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cùm Tartari nec stramina nec fœnum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum custodiæ. Ideoq́; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipsum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos subductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die post festum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, quę sub Tartaris erat immediatè. Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vsque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malitia plenum. Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus secundum velle suum, duxit nos vsq; ad primam custodiam Tartarorum.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas πάγκακος.

Qualiter primò cum socijs suis receptus est à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CVm ergo in prima sexta feria post diem cinerum, Sole ad occasum tendente, hospitaremur, Tartari super nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiusmodi homines essemus: cumq́; respondissemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij essemus, quibusdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuó discesserunt. Porrò mane facto, cùm surgentes aliquantulum processissemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in custodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus respondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus. Hic nos idcircò tam ad Regem quàm ad Principes, omnesq́; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Christiani Tartarorū sint amici, & pacem habeant | cum ipsis. [p. 47]
Desiderat insuper, vt apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, & idcircò monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, vt efficiantur Christiani, fidemq́; recipiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter saluari. Mandat prætereà, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominū, & maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui sunt ei subiecti, facta per Tartaros, cùm in nullo lęsissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauiter est super hoc offensus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commissis pœnitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei rescribant, quid facere velint de

Papa Christianorum pater & Dominus.

Legationis mandata.

cætetero, & quæ sit eorum intentio. Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subductitios vsq; ad Corrensam & ducatum præbere. Statimq; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderant ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Corrensam arripuimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quę dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè subitò & improuisò irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Corrensa.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Corrensam. Cap. 21.

CVm ergò peruenissemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni stationem, & misit ad nos procuratores suos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire possemus, & insuper veneramus per loca valdè periculosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsum. Acceptisq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam siue tentorium ipsius, & instructi fuimus, vt ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem super limẽ ostij poneremus. Et postquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibusq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus superiùs. Literas etiam Dom. Papę obtulimus: sed interpres, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandũ, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur prę cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripuimus secunda feria post primã dominicam *xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vsq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur †Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat

Mos salutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy eiusque potentia.

Comania.

* Quadragesimæ. † *Veteribus Borysthenes.*

Correnza & Montij, qui maior est illo ex altera parte per campestria. Secundum appellatur *Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tirbon. Tertium dicitur †Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur ‡Iaec, super quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, & in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hoc est mare magnum, de quo brachium sancti Georgij exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantq́; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ satis periculosè per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vndæ ad tres leucas inferiùs. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy peruenieremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Correnſam dixeramus.

Pontus Euxinus.

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum Princ̃ipem. Cap. 22.

POrrò cùm in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy peruenieremus, benè positi fuimus per vnam leucam à stationibus eius. Cumq́; duci debuimus ad curiam ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volumus hoc facere, nisi tantùm, vt si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cùm igitur ad Ordam peruenissemus, interrogati á pocuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Correnſam respondimus, datisq́; muneribus & | acceptis, auditis etiam itineris causis, introduxerunt nos in stationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, sicut prius, admonitione. Ingressi autem flexis genibus, verba nostra proposuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & vt nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Parasceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenica & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipsis transtulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præsentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad nostram stationem

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

Eldegay.

[p. 48]

Bathy audit legatos.

* *Tanais.* † *Rha.* ‡ *Rhymnus.*

reducti fuimus, sed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, nisi semel aliquantulum millij in vna scutella, scilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Iste Bathy magnificè se gerit, habens ostiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & sedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus suis. Alij verò tam fratres sui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferiùs sedent in medio super bancum, & homines cæteri post eos in terra deorsum, sed viri à dextris, & fœminæ à sinistris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna satis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, nisi vocatus, quantumcunque sit potens & magnus, nisi fortè sciatur, quòd sit voluntas ipsius. Nos etiam dicta causa sedimus à sinistris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: sed in redeundo ab Imperatore, semper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur mensa eius prope ostium stationis, super quam apponitur potus in aureis & argenteis vasis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico sunt, nisi cantetur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cùm equitat, semper portatur solinum, vel tentoriolum super caput eius in hasta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy satis est hominibus suis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna est crudelissimus, sagax est multum & astutissimus in bello: quia iam pugnauit tempore longo.

Gerit se regificè.

Eiusdem bibendi ad Symphoniæ cantum mos.

Authoritas.

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum & Kangittarum transierunt. Cap. 23.

IN die porrò Sabbathi sancti ad stationem fuimus vocati, & exiuit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipsius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipsorum iremus, retentis quibusdam ex nostris sub hac specie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis nostris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cùm rediissent vsq; ad Montij Ducem supradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vsque ad reditum nostrum. Nos autem in die Paschę officio dicto, & facta comestione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Correnſam fuerant assignati, cum multis lacrymis recessimus, nescientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota siquidem illa quadragesima fuerat cibus noster millium cum aqua & sale tantùm, & in aliis similiter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum prętер niuem in caldario liquefactam.

Legati iubentur ad Cuyne Imperat. pergere.

Ibamus autem per Comaniam equitando fortissimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinquies aut pluries in die, nisi quando per deserta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui possent continuum sustinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadragesima vsque ad octo dies post Pascha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè post Russiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id est, magnam Bulgariam, Bastarcos, id est, magnam Hungariam, post Bastarcos, Parositas & Samogetas. Post Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus desertis. A meridie habet Alanos, Circassos, Gazaros, Græciam & Constantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur esse Iudæi, caput radentes per totùm, terram quoq; Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum. Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Russiam. Et est Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, scilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum seruitutem redacti sunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipsos redierunt. Post hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde homines Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ, cùm ad ipsum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deserto præ siti mortui sunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & ossa mortuorum hominum, super terram iacentia tanquam sterquilinium. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus post Pascha ferè vsque ad Ascensionem Dominicam. Huiusq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipsi quàm Comani non laborabant, sed tantùm de animalibus viuebant, nec domos ædificabant, sed in tabernaculis habitabant. Istos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in terris eorum, illiq; qui remanserunt, redacti sunt in seruitutem ipsorum.

Comaniæ descriptio.

Oceanus septentrionalis.

Terra Kangittarum.

Ieroslaus, Dux Russiæ.

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam deuenerunt. Cap. 24. [p. 49]

POrrò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biserminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, sed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum castris dirutas, villasq; multas desertas. Huius Dominus dicebatur Altisoldanus, qui cum tota sua progenie à Tartaris est destructus. Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hierusalem & Baldach, totamq; Sarracenorum terram.

Terra Biserminorum.

Altisoldanus.

Montes maximi.

Burin. Cadan. Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, scilicit Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingischam.

Oceanus ab Aquilone. Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum.

Syban, frater Bathy. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à festo Ascensionis dominicæ ferè vsque ad viij. dies ante festum sanct. Iohan. Baptistæ.

Nigri Cathayni. Deinde ingressi sumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis.

Mare paruum. Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius littore quidam existit mons paruus. In quo scilicet monte quoddam foramen esse dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam maximę tempestates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo transire possunt. In æstate verò semper quidem ibi ventorum sonitus auditur, sed de foramine tenuiter egreditur.

Plurimis diebus. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum sit magnum,

Plures insulę. plures insulas habet, & illud in sinistris dimisimus.

Ordu. cap. 13. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & est orda, siue curia patris ipsius, quam inhabitat, & regis vna de vxoribus eius. Consuetudo enim est apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, sed semper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eísque donariorum partes, sicut Dominis earum dari solebant, dantur.

Prima curia Imperatoris. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipsius.

Qualiter ad ipsum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum peruenerunt. Cap. 25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipsius, sed nobis in tentorio nostro secundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè seruiri fecerunt, & vt quiesceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt.

Terra Naymanorum. Inde procedentes in vigilia sanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui sunt Pagani. In ipsa verò die Apostolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra montuosa & frigida est supra modum, ibiq; de planicie reperitur modicum. Istæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, sed sicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipsi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde

Tartaria. terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus. Per

has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus septimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum peruenimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam istam valdè festinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris nostris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam solennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipsius Imperatoris electionem. Idcircò de mane surgentes, ibamus usque ad noctem sine comestione, & sæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in sero, sed quod manducare debebamus in vespere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatisq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebatur eis, sed equitabamus velociter ac sine intermissione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Iulij 22.

Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores suscepit. Cap. 26.

CVm autem peruenimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expensas, quales Tartaris dare solent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipsum autem vocati non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio se intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo stetissemus ibi per quinque vel sex dies, ad matrem suam nos transmisit, vbi adunabatur curia solennis. Et cùm venissemus illuc, tam extensum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratq; tam grande nostro iudicio, quòd plusquam duo millia hominum poterant esse sub illo. Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabulatum varijs imaginibus depictum. Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad custodiam assignatis, ibiq; conuenerant | omnes duces, & vnusquisq; cum hominibus suis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die vestiti sunt omnes purpuris albis, in secunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porrò tertia die fuerunt omnes in blaueis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnam solus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat custodia, quamuis esset aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam custodes cum gladijs & arcubus & sagittis erant. Itaq; si quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui positi erant, si capiebatur, verberabatur, si fugiebat, sagitta siue ferro sagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, sellis & huiusmodi, iudicio nostro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tracta-

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

[p. 50]

Comitia.

bant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuersus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vsque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vsque ad vesperas tantum bibebant, quod erat visu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuisiam : quia iumentinũ lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore : sed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter consuetudinem sustinere. Vnde ostendimus eis, hoc esse nobis graue, ideoq; nos cessauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroslaus de Susdal Russiæ, pluresq; Duces Kythaorum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et sicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum seipsos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipsi miserant, illosq; qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes simul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eisq; simul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ierozlao ferè semper ab eis dabatur superior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Symposium procerum.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiæ.

Legati diuersarum nationum.

Qualiter in imperium sublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

ET quidem, si benè meminimus, ibidem per septimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Credimusq; quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maximè credebatur, quia semper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis speciosis, in summitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quousq; exterius morabatur. Hęc autem statio siue Curia nominatur ab eis Syra orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimiter omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadã pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipsos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatũ. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in sede in die Assumptionis Dominæ nostræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt suprà dictum est, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratq; tentorium in columnis positum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porrò de Baldakino erat tectum superius, sed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vsq; ad festum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem versis vultibus stetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant,

Imperij Cuynæ primitiæ.

Syra orda.

Aurea orda.

Augusti 15.

Preces solennes.

semperq́; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, nescientes, nolebamus facere genuflexiones. Cumq́; diu ita fecissent, ad tentorium reuersi sunt, & Cuyne in sede imperiali posuerunt, Ducesq́; coram eo genua flexerunt. Post hoc idem fecit vniuersus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis subditi non eramus.

De ætate ac moribus ac sigillo ipsius. Cap. 28.

Cuynæ ætas & mores.

HIc autem Imperator quando sublimatus est in regnum, videbatur esse circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat staturæ, prudens valde, nimis astutus multumq́; seriosus, & grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, sicut dicebant Christiani, qui cum ipso morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis asserendo firmiter Christiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Christianus. Cuius signum erat, quod ipse Clericos Christianos tenebat, & expensas eis dabat. Habebat etiam semper capellam Christianorum ante maius tentorium suum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulsant ad horas, vt cęteri Christiani secundùm mores Grecorum, quantacunq; sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipsorum. Est autem mos Imperatoris ipsius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantumcunq; magnus sit, sed audit & respondet per interpositam personam, & quandocunq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcunq; sint magni, flexis genibus vsq; ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq́; scriptores, omnesq́; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quàm priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam sine litium vel iudiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuersi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos Occidentis, nisi fortasse, quod absit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet vt

Studium Christianismi.

Maiestas.

[p. 51]

Potestas exlex †.

Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.

ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, & idcirco contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Huius siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Occoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum est suprà, est, sibi totum subijcere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Vnde & ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli eius est hoc: Deus in cœlo, & Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

† *Contrà Xenophon: δίκαιον ἐστι νόμιμον. Et præclarè Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deũ ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam belluam adiungit, cùm præsertim tale quid sit cupiditas & iracundia: & magistratus & optimus quisq; à recta via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. 1. tit. 3. l. 2.*

De admissione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

Cuyne audit legatos.

IN loco illo, vbi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cumq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina nostra scripsisset, illorũq; à quibus missi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuersitate. Quo facto, flexit vnusquisq; nostrum quater genu sinistrum, & monuerunt, ne tangeremus limen deorsum. Cumq; pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, & nullatenus inuenissent, intrauimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium eius. Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præsentia suam intrauimus stationem, videlicet postquam factus est Imperator ibidem. Omnes quoque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium eius intrauerunt.

Munera eidem oblata.

Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nuncijs fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, cęterisq; muneribus. Quoddam etiam Solinum, siue tentoriolum, quod super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quod totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnius prouinciæ adduxit ei Camelos multos cum

Baldakinis tectos. Similiter sellæ positæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines interius sedere valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quosdam quidem de corio, & quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: sed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi currus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctiq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuisi fuerunt, singuliq; Duces inter homines suos partes suas, vt eis placuit, diuiserunt.

Currus Θησαυρόφοροι.

De loco diuisionis Imperatoris & matris suæ, & morte Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quod Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & semper cùm intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuisia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Erátque solariolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides preciosi, si benè meminimus, & illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Erátque rotundum superius. Banci | verò erant positi in [p. 52] circuitu sedis, vbi dominæ sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferius, & hoc in medio. Alij verò sedebant post eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus suprà diximus, erant valdè magna, aliaq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo satis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuisus est à matre sua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, recessit. De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus. Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, vt manducaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitium est reuersus, infirmatusq; mortuus est post septem dies, totúmque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebaturq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eburnum.

Nex Occoday vindicata.

Ieroslaus Dux Russiç.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, literas dederunt & acceperunt. Cap. 31.

Cuyne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

DEniq; Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cùm audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, iussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superiùs dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuersi stetimus paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reuersi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis pro diebus quatuor dabantur, vix vni sufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosmam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentauit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum eiusdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobisq; per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, vt verba nostra & negotia scriberemus, eiq; porrigeremus. Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porrò à die Beati Martini fuimus vocati. Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, pluresq; scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobisq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cùm in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cùm igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenico scripserunt, vt aliquis in partibus nostris inueniri posset, qui eas si opus esset, legeret.

Cosmas Russus.

Chingay internuncius.

Prudens de literis consilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cùm vnus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, nequaquam bonum videbatur. Ideoq; respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures causas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ fiunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad veniendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt & superbæ. Vnde quando seruientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, & coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem, nisi sumant de ipsis vltionem. Quarta etiã causa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi. | Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu [p. 53] eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quód literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quę vnicuiq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vnam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vnaquaq; vnum passum. De illa quoq;, quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati. Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, sed inde verba mouere noluimus.

Legati abhorrent a Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

Nouemb. 13. Honorantur cõmeatu & lautijs.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum arripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in desertis sæpiùs in niue, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quo cùm inquireremus, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datisq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Correnſam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vsque ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alij, qui nobis à Correnſa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab vltima custodia vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Iohannis Baptistę xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouienses aduentum nostrum percipientes, occurrerunt nobis omnes lætanter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam. Daniel & Wasilico frater eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioq; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterisq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ priùs de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Difficilis legatorum reditus.

Bathy.

Correnſa.

Iunij 8.

Gratulationes reducibus factæ.

Basilius & Daniel Principes.

Russi agnoscunt primatum Papæ.

The voyage of *Johannes de Plano Carpini* vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prędicants and Minorites vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of *Vincentius Beluacensis* his *Speculum Historiale*: beginning at the second Chapter.

Bout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent Frier Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consorted with him out of diuers Couens of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankinde, and to receiue the Christian faith. And I, in verie deede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelie, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inserted into this my woorke) from a Frier Minoritie, called Simon de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Frier Minorite, namely Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnesseth) abode and conuersed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he & one Frier Benedict a Polonian being of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, receiued straight commaundement from the Pope, that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Frier Iohn hath written a little Historie (which is come to our hands) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee sawe | among the Tartars, or which he heard from diuers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captiuitie. Out of which historie I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert somewhat for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

Ascellinus.

Simon Quintinianus.

Iohn de plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

[p. 54]

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By *Iohannes de Plano Carpini*. Chap. 3.

A description of Tartaria.

THere is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the worlde which is thought to be most North Easterly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kythay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the prouince of Naimani: but on the North side it is inuironed with the Ocean Sea. In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smoothe grounde, but euerie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundreth part thereof fruitefull. For it cannot beare fruite vnlesse it be moistened with riuer waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Wherevpon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selues sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise vnfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the bringing vp of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small store of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselues, and dresse their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horses. The ayre also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lightnings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde windes, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Whereupon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye groueling on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it scarcely sufficeth to allay the dust, or to moysten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great store of haile also. Insomuch that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Emperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, vpon the sudden melting thereof, more then 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other things also caried away. Likewise, in the

The North Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intemperature of the aire.

What Orda signifieth.

Sommer season there is on the sudden extreame heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. Chap. 4.

THe Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are vnlike to all other people. For they are broader betweene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and small noses, litle eyes, and eye liddes standing streight vpright, they are shauen on the crownes like priests. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans hair, whereof they braide two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They vse neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Jackets framed after a strange manner, of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines. Their shoubes or gownes are hayrie on the outside, and open behinde, with tailes hanging downe to their hammes. They vse not to washe their garments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staues in manner of a tent. But in the middest of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to convey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the middest. Their walles bee couered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickely be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried vpon beastes backes. Other some cannot be taken insunder, but are stowed upon carts. And whithersoeuer they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattel, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horses and mares then all the world besides. But they haue no Kine nor other beasts. Their Emperors, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with silk, gold, siluer, and precious stones. Their victuals are al things that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice. | They drinke milke in great quantitie, but especially mares milke, if they haue it: They seeth Mill also in water, making it so thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinkes off a cup full or two in a morning, and sometime they eate nought else all the day long.

The shape of the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like vnto Frobishers men.

Their tabernacles.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

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But in the euening each man hath a little flesh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in summer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they seldome eate flesh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take some beast or bird in hunting.

Of their manners both good and bad. Chap. 5.

Their obediẽce.

THeir manners are partly prayse-worthie, and partly detestable: For they are more obedient vnto their lords and masters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They seldome or neuer fall out among themselues, and, as for fightings or brawlings, wounds or manslaughters, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theeues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treasures are not strengthened with lockes or barres. If any beast goe astray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the same purpose, at whose handes the owner of the said beast demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiueth it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquets very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie and scarce among them. They are also very hardie, and when they haue fasted a day or two without any maner of sustenance, they sing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vse commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them despiseth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conueniently he can. Their women are chaste, neither is there so much as a word vttered concerning their dishonestie. Some of them will notwithstanding speake filthy and immodest words. But towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scorne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoeuer. For we saw in the Emperours court the great duke of Russia, the kings sonne of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and estimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars assigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and sometimes would constraine them to sit behinde their backes.

Their abstinence.

Their courtesie.

Their chastity.

Their insolencie against strangers.

Moreouer they are angrie and of a disdainefull nature vnto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They speake fayre in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sting like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falshood, circumuenting all men whom they are able, by their sleights. Whatsoeuer mischiefe they entend to practise against a man, they keepe it wonderfully secrete, so that he may by no meanes prouide for himselfe, nor find a remedie against their conspiracies. They are vnmanerly also and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken more drinke then his stomacke can well beare, hee casteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are most intollerable exacters, most couetous possessours, and most nigardly giuers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Of their lawes and customes. Chap. 6.

MOreouer, they haue this law or custome, that whatsoeuer man or woman be manifestly taken in adultery, they are punished with death. A virgine likewise that hath committed fornication, they slay together with her mate. Whosoeuer be taken in robberie or theft, is put to death without all pitie. Also, if any man disclose their secrets, especially in time of warre, he receiueth an hundreth blowes on the backe with a bastinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like sort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their superiours handes, but are punished with grieuous stripes. They are ioyned in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they vse to marrie their sister by the fathers side onely, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The yonger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Baty for conueying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be prooued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came & made their supplication vnto the forenamed duke, | that the dukedome of Russia might not be [p. 56] taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him vnto her

Punishments of adultery.

Of theft.

Of secretes disclosed.

Lawes of matrimonie.

Andreas duke of Russia.

husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, then so haynously transgresse the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be short, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wiues vse very seldome to marrie the second time, vnlesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in mariage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two sonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other Dauid, borne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his base sonne. Hereupon Melich (vnto whome the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, Dauid also hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might haue iustice, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that Dauid being his elder brother, should haue superioritie ouer him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whensoeuer a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And notwithstanding (as it hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fal out among themselues.

Melich & Dauid two brothers.

Of their superstitious traditions. Chap. 7.

Ridiculous traditions.

BUt by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors haue deuised, they accompt some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the cauldrõ, or to hewe with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, wherewith they beate their horses: for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to strike an horse with y^e^ raine of their bridle, and to breake one bone against

another. Also, to powre out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground, or to make water within their tabernacle: which whosoeuer doth willingly, he is slaine, but otherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fiers. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing thereout. Besides, if any man hath a morsell giuen him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawen forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoeuer treads vpon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many other things there be, like vnto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to inuade the dominions of other people, and to rifle their goods, to transgresse the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall liue in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they shal eate and drinke and doe other things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Iauelines into the ground neere vnto the said fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Iauelines. And about the corde they tye certaine iagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beastes, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left casting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatsoeuer such things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee short, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or other personages whatsoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes must passe betweene two fires to be purified, lest peraduenture they haue practised some witchcraft, or haue brought some poyson or other mischiefe with them.

The Tartars worship the moone.

Their custome of purifying.

[p. 57] | Of the beginning of their empire or gouernment.

Chap. 7.

The people of Tartaria.

THe East countrie, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselues Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tartar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Metrit. All these people had one and the same person, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countries taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischiefe. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slewe their captaine, and after many conflicts, subdued them vnto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vsed their helpe to fight against the Merkats, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also hee vanquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Metrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly disdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puissant Emperour, vnto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themselues. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforesaid, they neuerthelesse inuaded the forenamed countries, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his subiects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselues at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquished by the Mongals. And being thus vanquished, they were, the greater part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foresayd Karakytayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South side, there

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The discord of brethren.

Occoday Cham.

is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainely reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of ioynts in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselues. Howbeit, they are of discretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselues, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. Chap. 9.

BUt the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselues to battell against the *Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were ouercome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seuen, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they doe, to this day, answere: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seuen of vs aliue, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with such brags. But Chingis and the residue that remained aliue, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a little, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals ouercame, and receiued letters or learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of writing, and nowe they call it the hand or letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, hee marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut vp their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary prouision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate euery

New victories.

Letters.

* Haython & Paulus Venetus call them Cathayans.

[p. 58] tenth man of the companie. | But they of the citie fought manfully against them, with engines, dartes, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threw siluer, and especially melted siluer: for the same citie abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuayle by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middest of the citie, and there issuing foorth they fought against the citizens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the citie, they entred, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sworde, they tooke possession thereof and conueighed away the golde, siluer, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But some parte of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conquere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a speciall kinde of writing by themselues, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They haue also recorded in hystories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly resorted vnto. They say that they haue diuers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adore and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lorde, and beleeue the article of eternall life, but are not baptized. They doe also honourably esteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Christians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities.

Siluer cast at the enemie in stead of stones.

Chingis Cham proclaimed Emperour.

Part of Cathay in the sea.

The letters, & the religion of the Cathayans.

Their excellent workmanship.

Of their warre against *India maior* and *minor*. Chap. 10.

ANd when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselues after the foresayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thossut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania,

Thossut Can son of Chingis.

whom he vanquished with much warre, and afterward returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Æthiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight against Christians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his souldiers together, and came foorth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them vpon a saddle on horse-backe, and put fire within them, and placed a man with a paire of bellowes on the horse backe behinde euery image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And comming neare vnto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sate behind laide I wote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellowes. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast dartes vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slain. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

India minor subdued.

The stratagem of the king of India.

How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of *Burithabeth*. Chap. 11.

BUt returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherin (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankinde, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the riuer. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselues into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust vpon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backes, and hauing often times so done, the ice being strongly

A strange report of certain mõstrous women and dogs.

frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threwe their dartes, or shot their [p. 59] arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe, | as if they had lighted vpon stones. And the rest of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an assault vpon the Tartars, and wounding some of them with their teeth, and slaying others, at length they draue them out of their countries. And thereupon they haue a Prouerbe of the same matter, as yet rife among them, which they speake in iesting sorte one to another; My father or my brother was slaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in traueiling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burithabeth (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. These people haue a strange or rather a miserable kinde of custome. For when anie mans father deceaseth, he assembleth all his kindred, and they eate him. These men haue no beards at all, for we saw them carie a certaine iron instrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haires growe vpon their chinne, they presently plucke them out. They are also very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

The region of Burithabeth.

The manners of the people.

How they had the repulse at the *Caspian* mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues. Chap. 12.

Another expeditiō of Chingis.

MOreouer Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the East, hee himselfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caspian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themselues, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within those Caspian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyse of the armie, made a breach through, so that when the Tartars returned vnto the same place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there stood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to passe, being depriued of their sight so soone as they approched thereunto. But they on the contrary side thinking that the Tartars durst not come nigh them, gaue the

assault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cause aforesaid. Also the Tartars, before they came vnto the said mountaines, passed for the space of a moneth and more, through a vast wildernes, & departing thence towards the East, they were aboue a moneth traueiling through another huge desert. At length, they came vnto a land wherin they saw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the last, diligently seeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they presented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they answered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountains. Then Chingis Cham keeping still the woman, sent her husband vnto thē, giuing thē charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they answered, that they would vpon such a day visite him, to satisfie his desire. And in the meane season, by blinde & hidden passages vnder the earth, assembling themselues, they came against the Tartars in warlike manner, and suddenly issuing forth, they slewe a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noise, which in that place the Sunne made at his vprising: for at the time of the Sunne rising, they were inforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to stoppe the other close; least they should heare that dreadfull sound. Neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, seeing that they preuailed not, but continually lost some of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforesaid they caried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demaunded why the men of their countrey doe inhabite vnder the ground, they sayd, that at a certeine time of the yeare, when the sunne riseth, there is such an huge noyse, that the people cannot endure it. Moreouer, they vse to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other musicall instruments, to the ende they may not heare that sounde.

A fabulous narration of the sun rising.

Of the statutes of *Chingis Cham*, of his death, of his sonnes, and of his dukes. Chap. 13.

BUt as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & suffered extreme famin. Then by chance they found y^e^ fresh intrails of a beast: which they tooke, & casting away the dung therof, caused it to be sodden, brought it before

The lawe of Chingis.

Chingis Cham, & did eat therof. And hereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that neither the blood, nor the intrails, nor any other [p. 60] part of a | beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, saue onely the dunge. Wherefore he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordayned lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inuiolably obserue, of the which we haue before spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclap. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossut Can, the third Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknowen. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuyne, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The sonnes of Thossut Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seignior of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is vnknowen, are Mengu, Bithat, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperors mother, and mightier then any subiect except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygat, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are vnknowen vnto vs.

The death of Chingis. His sonnes.

His graund-children.

The Tartarian dukes.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. Chap. 14.

The absolute and lordly dominion of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his subiects.

MOreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes assigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conducter of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery corporall of ten. Whatsoeuer is giuen them in charge, whensoeuer, or wheresoeuer, be it to fight or to lose their liues, or howsoeuer it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister

being a virgine, they presently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men. Also, whatsoeuer messenger he sendeth, or whithersoeuer, his subiects must without delay finde them horses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soeuer tribute payers, or ambassadours come vnto him, they must haue horses, carriages, and expenses allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrayned to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could liue thereof. Likewise, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demaunded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were giuen vs by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and iurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise vpon their subiects.

Their barbarous inhumanitie towards ambassadours.

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. Chap. 15.

AFter the death of Chingis Cham aforesayd, the dukes assembled themselues and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and sent duke Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Altisoldan, and against the people called Bisermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and subdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast vp many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came foorth to meete them, yeelding themselues vnto

Occoday succeedeth his father.

The expeditiõ of Bathy.

The citie of Barchin.

them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue manie of them and others they carried
[p. 61] away captiue, and taking spoyles, they filled | the citie with other
Orna. inhabitants, and so marched foorth against the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Christians therein, as namely Gasarians, Russians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens also. The gouernment of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It standeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of porte towne, hauing a great marte exercised therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwise ouercome it, they turned the sayd riuer, running through the citie, out of his chanell, and so drowned the citie with the inhabitantes and their goods. Which being done, they set forward against Russia, and made foule hauocke there, destroying cities and castles and murthering the people. They layd siege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia, and at length they tooke it and slue the citizens. Whereupon, traueiling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens skulles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is nowe in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe scarce remaine 200. houses, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Moreouer, out of Russia and Comania, they proceeded forward against the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were slaine, as is aforesaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withstood them, the Tartars had beene confounded and driuen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded
The Morduans. the countrey of the Morduans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched against the people called Byleri,
Bulgaria magna. or Bulgaria magna, & vtterly wasted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North against the people called
Hungaria magna. Bastarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them also. And
Parossitæ. so going on further North, they came vnto the Parossitæ, who hauing little stomacks and small mouthes, eate not any thing at all, but seething flesh they stand or sitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the steame or smoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eate anie thing it is very little. From
Samogetæ. hence they came to the Samogetę, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vse to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beastes skinnes. From thence they proceeded vnto a
The North ocean. countrey lying vpon the Ocean sea, where they found certaine monsters, who in all things resembled the shape of men, sauing that their feete were like the feete of an oxe, and they had in
Northerne monsters. deede mens heads but dogges faces. They spake, as it were,

two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there some of them remaine vnto this day.

Of the expedition of duke *Cyrpodan*. Chap. 16.

AT the same time Occoday Can sent duke Cyrpodan with an armie against Kergis, who also subdued them in battell. Kergis. These men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a custome when any of their fathers die, for griefe and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke Cyrpodan marched with his forces Southward against the Armenians. And trauailing through certain desert places, they found monsters in the shape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midst of their breast, and but one foote. Two of them vsed to shoote in one bowe, and they ran so swiftly, that horses could not ouertake them. They ran also vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of such walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themselues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of so doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. Isidore calleth them Cyclopedes. And as it was told vs in court, Cyclopedes. by the clergie men of Russia, who remaine with the foresayd Emperour, many ambassadours were sent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part also Armenia & Georgia conquered. of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iurisdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called Yperpera. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puissant and mighty Soldan called Deurum, whom also they vanquished in fight. And to be short, they went on farther sacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, The Soldan of Aleppo his land. and now they haue subdued that land also, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewise the same armie marched forward against the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they The Caliph of Baldach. subdued also, & exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, besides Baldakines and other giftes. Also euery yeare they send messengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them. Who sending back great gifts together with his tribute beseecheth thē to be fauourable vnto him. Howbeit

the Tartarian Emperour receiueth al his gifts, & yet still neuertheles sends for him, to haue him come.

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How the *Tartars* behaue themselues in warre. Chap. 17.

The military discipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham diuided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Millenaries or captains of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithstanding ouer one whole armie he authorised two or three dukes, but yet so that all should haue especiall regard vnto one of the said dukes. And when they ioine battel against any other nation, vnles they do all with one consent giue backe, euery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or more of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the residue of those ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner slaine. Also, if one among ten or more bee taken, their fellowes, if they rescue thẽ not, are punished with death. Moreouer they are enioined to haue these weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the least, three quiuers full of arrowes, & one axe, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer sort haue single edged swords, with sharpe points, and somewhat crooked. They haue also armed horses with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackes, and caparisons for their horses made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or steele, but that part which compasseth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit some of them haue all their foresaide furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handful long, and making in euery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three strong and streight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, ascending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the said thongs, with other small and slender thongs, drawen through the holes aforesayd, and in the vpper part, on each side therof, they fasten one small doubled thong vnto another, that the plates may firmely be knit together. These they make, as well for their horses caparisons, as for the armour of their men: And they skowre them so bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull

Their weapõs.

men out of their saddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged sworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiuers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of small roddes. Howbeit they doe not (as we suppose) accustome to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night season. They are most politique in warres, hauing bene exercised therein with other nations for the space of these 42. yeres. When they come at any riuers, the chiefe men of the company haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders whereof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purse, and so bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other necessaries, trussing it vp most strongly. But vpon the midst of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their saddles and other hard things, there also doe the men themselues sit. This their boate they tye vnto an horse tayle, causing a man to swimme before, & to guide ouer the horse, or sometime they haue two oares to row themselues ouer. The first horse therefore being driuen into the water, all the other horses of the company followe him, and so they passe through the riuer. But the poorer sort of common souldiers haue euery man his leather bag or sachell well sowen together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and strongly trussing it vp hangs it at his horses tayle, and so passeth ouer, in maner aforesaid.

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of passing ouer riuers.

Howe they may be resisted. Chap. 18.

I Deeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to resist them: because they vse to take vp souldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if so be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly wasting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight against another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiously, they put them to the sworde. Wherefore, if Christians would withstande them, it is expedient, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreies should agree in one, and so by common counsell, should giue them resistance. Their souldiers also must be furnished with strong hand-bowes & cros-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with sufficiēt arrowes, with maces also of good iron, or an axe with a long handle or staffe. When they make their arrow heads, they must (according to y^e^ Tartars custome)

Counsel how to wage warre against the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron or steele.

dip thē red-hot into water mingled with salte, that they may be strong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue swords also & lances with hooks at the ends, to pull thē from their saddles, out of which they are easilie remoued. They must haue helmets likewise & other armour to defend thēselues & their horses frō the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vn-
[p. 63] armed, must (according to y^e^ Tartars custome) | march behinde their fellowes, and discharge at the enemie with long bowes and cros-bowes. And (as it is aboue said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troupes, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoeuer runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, must vndergoe a most seuere punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battel must be chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must all be in one company, but in manie and seuerall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which giue the first encounter must sende one band before, and must haue another in a readynesse to relieue and second the former in time conuenient. They must haue spies also on euery side to giue them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approch. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth band against band & troupe against troupe, because the Tartar euer practiseth to gette his enemie in the midst and so to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat also, if the enemie retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peraduenture (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, lest our horses bee tired: for we are not so well stored with horses as they. Those horses which the Tartars vse one day, they ride not vpon three or foure dayes after. Moreouer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and casseir their bandes, or separate themselues asunder: because they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more securely inuade and waste the countrey. And in very deede, our captaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assayes, to bee prouided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuising howe to practise mischiefe. Furthermore, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their horse backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shoote strongly, wounding and killing both horses and men.

Of the iourney of frier **Iohn* vnto the first guard of the *Tartars*. Chap. 19.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting foorth towards the nations of the East, chose first to trauel vnto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the king of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduised vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Russia. For we had kinsfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Hauing giuen vs his letters, hee caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleslaus duke of Slesia, who also was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of †Lautiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large cõcerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skinnes of beuers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the ‡duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be short, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, enterteined vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereunto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (hauing as then taken his iourney vnto Baty) was absent, they could not at that time, make a finall answere. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia.

The iourney of frier Iohn & his fellow Legates.

Boleslaus duke of Silesia.

Daniel brother unto Wasilico.

* Iohannes de plano Carpini.

† Mazouia. ‡ Grimslaua.

The Lithuanians.

Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lituanians, who did often inuade y^e^ borders of Russia, euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or caried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Moreouer, at Danilon wee were feeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selues to bee carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Millenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee [p. 64] | carried those horses, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great store of snowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: be cause they knew not howe to digge vp the grasse vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eate, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to keepe them. And wee were constrayned to bestow gifts vpon the Millenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs poste horses and a guide. Wherefore beginning our iourney the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michæas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despight. Who notwithstanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the first guarde of the Tartars.

The fodder of the Tartarian horses.

Michæas the malicious.

How he and his company were at the first receiued of the *Tartars*. Chap. 20.

WHerefore, the first saturday next after Ashwednesday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing vpon vs in vnciuil and horrible maner, being very inquisitiue of vs what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: & when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing some victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Moreouer in the morning rising and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demaunding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither: and what busines we had with them: Unto whom we answered, We are the legates of our

The contents of the legacie.

lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians. He hath sent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and all other Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should haue peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therfore he admonisheth them aswel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Iesu Christ, because they could not otherwise be saued. Moreouer, he giues thē to vnderstand, that he much marueileth at their mōstrous slaughters & massacres of mankind, & especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungariās, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being al his subiects, hauing not iniuried them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And because the Lord God is grieuously offended thereat, he aduiseth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write an answere vnto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intention is. All which things being heard and vnderstood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint vs poste horses and a guide vnto Corrensa. Corrensa.
And immediately demanding gifts at our hands, they obtained them. Then receiuing the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Corrensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before The duke of the Westerne marches.
vnto the sayd duke Corrensa, to signifie the message, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard against the natiōs of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is said to haue 60000. men vnder him.

How they were receiued at the court of *Corrensa*. Chap. 21.

BEing come therefore vnto his court, hee caused our tent to bee placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demaund of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to say, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeisance vnto him. Unto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any giftes at all, because he was not certaine that wee should euer bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with some part of those things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, The maner of saluting the Tartarian princes.

& the fauour of the Pope, bestowed vpõ vs for our sustenance. Hauing receiued our gifts, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were instructed to bow thrise with our left knee before the doore of the tente, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote vpon the threshold of the sayd doore. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine poste horses and three Tartars were appoynted for [p. 65] | vs to conduct vs from hence with al speede vnto duke Bathy.

Duke Bathy & his power.

This Bathy is the mightiest prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the first tuesday in Lent, and riding as fast as our horses could trot (for we had fresh horses almost thrise or foure times a day) we posted from morning till night, yea very often in the night season also, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thursday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: The first is called * Neper, on the side whereof towards Russia, duke Corrensa & Montij marched vp and downe, which Montij on the other side vpon the plaines is greater then he. The second is called † Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in mariage the sister of Baty, his name is Tirbon. The third is called ‡ Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called ‖ Iaec, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each side of the riuer one. All these, in the winter time, descend down to the sea, & in summer ascend backe by the bankes of the said riuers vp to the mountains. The sea last named is the § Great sea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Constantinople. These riuers do abound with plenty of fishes, but especially Volga, & they exonerate thẽselues into the Grecian sea, which is called Mare maior. Ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the shore also of the Grecian sea we went very dangerously vpon the ice in sundry places, & that for many

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* Boristhenes. † Tanais. ‡ Rha. ‖ Rhymnus.

§ Pontus Euxinus. He is deceiued, for albeit Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iaec flowe into the Caspian sea.

daies together. For about the shore the waters are frozen three leagues into the sea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afore, to giue him intelligence of all the sayings which we had vttered in the presence of Correnſa.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince *Bathy*. Chap. 22.

MOreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were seated a good league distant from his tabernacles. And when we should be conducted vnto his court, it was tolde vs that we must passe between two fires. But we would by no means be induced thereunto. Howbeit, they said vnto vs: you may passe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cause, but only that if you intend any mischiefe against our lord, or bring any poyson with you, fire may take away all euill. Unto whom we answered, that to the end we might cleare ourselues from all suspition of any such matter, we were contented to passe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what present or gift we would do our obeisance: Wee gaue the same answere which we did at the court of Correnſa. The gifts being giuen and receiued, the causes of our iourney also being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, first bowing our selues at the doore, & being admonished, as before, not to tread vpon the threshold. And being entred, we spake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requested him to haue interpreters to translate them. Who accordingly on good friday were sent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently translated our sayd letters into the Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was presented vnto Bathy, which he read, & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Millet in a dich, the first night of our comming. This Bathy caries himselfe very stately & magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seate or throne together with one of his wiues. The rest, namely, as well his brethren and sonnes, as other great personages sit vnderneath him in the midst vpon a bench, and others sit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth also, which were once the kings of Hungaria.

A ceremony of passing betweene two fiers.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himselfe like a king.

Neither dare any man come into his tent (besides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer so mighty and great, except perhaps it be knowen that it is his pleasure. Wee also, for the same cause, sate on the left hand; for so doe all ambassadors in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middest stands his table, neare vnto the doore of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and siluer vessels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, especially being in a publique place, but they haue singing and minstrilsie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or small tent caried ouer his head vpon the point of a iaueline. And so doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues also. The sayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is most cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and politique in warre, because he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

Their custome of drinking at the sound of musicke.

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How departing from *Bathy*, they passed through the land of *Comania*, and of the *Kangittæ*. Chap. 23.

MOreouer, vpon Easter euen we were called vnto the tent, and there came forth to meete vs the foresaid agent of Bathy, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, vnto the Emperor Cuyne, deteining certaine of our company with this pretence, that they would send them backe vnto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer vnto him. But being come as farre as duke Montij aforesaid, there they were kept vntill our returne. Upon Easter day, hauing said our praiers, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned vnto vs by Corensa we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise vpon other fasting dayes. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snowe melted in a skillet. And passing through Comania we rode most earnestly, hauing change of horses fiue times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauailed from the beginning of Lent vntill eight dayes after Easter. The land of Comania on the North side immediately

They trauelled post from Easter day to the 22. of Iuly Eastward of Volga.

A description of Comania.

after Russia, hath the people called Morduyni Byleri, that is, Bulgaria magna, the Bastarci, that is, Hungaria magna, next vnto the Bastarci, the Parositæ and the Samogetæ. Next vnto the Samogetæ are those people which are sayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the desert shores of the Ocean. On the South side it hath the Alani, the Circassi, the Gazari, Greece and Constantinople; also the land of Iberia, the Cathes, the Brutaches who are said to be Iewes shauing their heads all ouer, the landes also of Scythia, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Turkie. On the West side it hath Hungaria, and Russia. Also Comania is a most large and long countrey. The inhabitantes whereof called Comani the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled from them, and the rest were subdued vnder their bondage. But most of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entred the lande of the Kangittæ, which in many places hath great scarcetie of waters, wherin there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the foresayd defect of water. For this cause diuers of the seruants of Ieroslaus duke of Russia, as they were traueiling towards him into the land of Tartaria, died for thirst, in that desert. As before in Comania, so likewise in this countrey, wee found many skulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this countrey we were traueiling from the eight day after Easter vntill Ascension day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the Comanians vsed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also haue the Tartars rooted out, and doe possesse and inhabite their countrey, howbeit, those that remained are reduced into their bondage.

The North Ocean.

The land of the Kangittæ.

Ieroslaus duke of Russia.

How they came vnto the first court of the new Emperour. Chap. 24.

MOreouer, out of the land of the Kangittæ, we entered into the countrey of y^e^ Bisermini, who speake the language of Comania, but obserue the law of the Saracens. In this countrey we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, & many towns left desolate. The lord of this country was called Soldan Alti, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tartars. This country hath most huge mountains. On the South side it hath Ierusalem and Baldach, and all the whole countrey of the Saracens. In the next territories adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely, Burin and Cadan

The land of the Bisermini.

Alti Soldanus.

Huge mountaines.

Burin and Cadan.

the sonnes of Thyaday, who was the sonne of Chingis Can. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the blacke Kythayans, and the Ocean. In the same countrie Syban the brother of Bathy remaineth. Through this countrie we were traueiling from the feast of Ascension, vntil eight daies before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist. And then we entred into the land of the blacke Kythayans, in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Emperours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to daunce before us. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine small sea, vpon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that traueilers can scarcely, and with great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise indeede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid sea we trauailed for the space of many dayes, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many islandes, and wee passed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth Ordu, whome wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes. And it is the Orda or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there. | For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Courts of Princes or of noble men are not dissolued, but alwayes some women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lords. And so at length we arriued at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

The North ocean.
Syban brother vnto Bathy.
The blacke Kythayans.
A small sea.
Many dayes.
Ordu cap. 13.
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The first court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto *Cuyne* himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. Chap. 25.

BUt because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but caused good attendance and entertainement, after the Tartars fashion, to be giuen vnto vs in our owne tent, and they caused vs to stay there, and to refresh our selues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fel a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure,

The land of Naymani.

and there is little plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned vsed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were trauailing manie dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our trauaile (as wee suppose) for the space of some three weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of Cuyne the Emperour elect. The 22. of Iuly. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bring vs vnto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath beene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Wherefore rising earely, wee trauailed vntill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came so late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same night, but that which we should haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our horses, wee spared no Horse-fleshe, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our horses could trot.

How *Cuyne* enterteined the Minorite Friers. Chap. 26.

BUt when wee were come vnto the court of Cuyne, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expenses necessarie to bee prouided for vs. The curtesie of Cuyne towards Ambassadors. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadours. Howbeeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we deliuered, were sent vnto him by the foresaid Bathy. And hauing stayed there fiue or sixe dayes, hee sent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set vp, painted with diuers images. The tent roial. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende vpon vs, tooke our iourney thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding vp and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. A generall assemblie. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes.

Then came Cuyne vnto the saide tent. Moreouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boardes, about the tent aforesaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, & arrowes. And whosoeuer approched vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their bridles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperor. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they staied almost til noone.

The banquet of the Nobles.

Then began they to drink mares milk, & so continued drinking til euen tide, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, because we could not drink their mares milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great honor. But they compelled vs to drink so much, that in regard of our customary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Whereupon, giuing them to vnderstand, | that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceassed to compel vs any more. Without

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Ieroslaus duke of Susdal.

the doore stoode Duke Ieroslaus of Susdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were more then 4000. ambassadors, partly of such as paide tributes, and such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselues, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were gouernours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almost continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroslaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

Ambassadors of sundry nations.

How he was exalted to his Empire. Chap. 27.

The beginnings of Cuyne his empire.

ANd to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there

celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which seruice was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda. Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betweene certaine mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda. For there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tent erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto other timber with golden nailes. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was other cloth spread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholomew, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling upon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they vsed inchantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, woulde not kneele vpon the grounde with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subiects.

Syra Orda.

The golden Orda.

The 15. of August.

Wollen cloth.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale. Chap. 28.

THis Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, seemed to bee about the age of fourty or fourty fiue yeeres. He was of a meane stature, very wise and politike, and passing serious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behaue himselfe lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Christians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and

His inclination to Christianitie.

argument whereof was, that hee reteined diuers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, neere vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Græcians) doe sing publiquely and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne selfe with a stranger, though he be neuer so great, but heareth and answeareth by a speaker. And when any of his subiects (howe great soeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importaunce vnto him, or in hearing his answeare, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they haue beene determined of by the Emperour. The sayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Scribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong vnto thē. But, be it known vnto al men, that whilest we remained at the said Emperors court, which hath bin ordained and kept for these many yeeres, the saide Cuyne being Emperor new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and against al | Christian kingdomes and nations of the West, vnlesse peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condescend vnto those things, which he hath inoined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Christiās, namely, that they wil become obedient vnto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land vnder heauē, which they stand in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselues to battel against vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they haue for a short space absteined from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I haue aboue said) to subdue the whole world vnto themselues, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperor in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Also, vpon his seale, there is this posie ingrauen: God in heauen, and *Cuyne Can* vpon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men.

His maiestie.

A lawlesse authoritie.

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Warre intended against all Christians.

Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadours vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

IN the same place where the Emperour was established into his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe secretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that sent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, ech one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threshold. And after they had searched vs most diligently for kniues, and could not find any about vs, we entred in at the doore vpon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West doore, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, euery Tartarian Duke entreth on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour sort doe not greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented vnto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadours, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, silke girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee caried ouer the Emperours head) presented vnto him, being set full of precious stones. And a gouernour of one Prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had saddles also vpon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte vpon. Also they brought many horses & mules vnto him furnished w^t^ trappers and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts vpõ him or no? But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, hauing in a maner spent all our prouision. There were also vpon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, more then 500. carts, which were all ful siluer and of gold, and silke garments. And they were all diuided betweene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke bestowed vpon his owne followers what pleased him.

Cuyne heareth the Legates.

Gifts presented vnto him.

500. Carts ful of treasure.

Of the place where the Emperor and his mother tooke their leaues one of another, and of *Ieroslaus* Duke of *Russia*. Chap. 30.

A tent of purple.

DEparting thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & sodden flesh (when we would) to eate. There was also a loftie stage built of boords, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiously wrought out of iuorie, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certain degrees or staires to ascend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, whereon the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes sate vpon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tentes made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iustice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poysoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Moreouer, vpon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time Ieroslaus the great Duke of Soldal, | which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) inuited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediately after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fel sicke, and within seuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possesse his Dukedome.

A throne of Iuorie.

The death of Occoday reuenged.

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Or, Susdal.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. Chap. 31.

TO be short, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperor, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, cõmanded that we should return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is abouesaid) to set vp a flag of defiãce against al y^e^ countreis of the West, which he would haue vs in no case to know. Wherefore returning, we staied some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again vnto him. With whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the prouision allowed vs for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lorde prouided for vs a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs some sustenance. This man shewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, before it was set in the proper place, and his seale, which he also had framed. Afterward the Emperor sent for vs, giuing vs to vnderstand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderstood the Russian, the Sarracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning therof vnto vs, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliuer both the letter and the translation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principal agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they caused vs to interprete vnto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twise more, least we should haue mistaken ought. For they said vnto vs:

Cuyne dissembleth with the Legates.

Cosmas a Russian.

The message of Chingay.

Take heed that ye vnderstand all things throughly, for if you should not vnderstand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconuenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue, that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interprete them, if need should require.

How they were licensed to depart. Chap. 32.

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambassadours sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

AND (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with vs. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selues should craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the said petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperor should send his ambassadours. Wherfore we gaue him answere, that it was not for vs to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safetie. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they should not goe, and that for diuers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissentions and warres which are among vs, should be the more encouraged to make warre against vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be insteade of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those seruants (which at the request of the Cardinall, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto such as haue slaine their Ambassadours, till they haue reuenged themselues. Fourthly, least they should bee taken from vs by mayne force. Fiftly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to haue none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Christendome, which very same letters wee our | selues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feast of Saint Brice, they gaue vs our passe-port and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gowne made of Foxe-skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tartars

[p. 71]

Nouember 13.

They are rewarded with gifts.

stole a yarde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our seruant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs, we knew well inough, but would make no words thereof.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

THen taking our iourney to returne, we trauailed all Winter long, lying in the deserts oftentimes vpon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our selues all couered with snow driuen ouer vs by the winde. And so trauailing till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answere he would send vnto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foresaide associates and seruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we caused them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence we trauailed vnto Correnſa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gaue none, because we had not wherewithall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tartars, to be our guides vnto the citie of Kiow in Russia. Howbeit one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were past the vtmost gard of the Tartars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Correnſa, brought vs from the last garde vnto the citie of Kiow, in the space of sixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist. Moreouer, the Citizens of Kiow, hauing intelligence of our approch, came foorth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So like wise they did vnto vs throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tartars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of

The sore iourneys of the Legates in returning.

Bathy.

Correnſa.

June 8.

How they were welcomed at their returne.

Basilius and Daniel Princes.

Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming like wise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our comming, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadours and letters by vs also, vnto our Lord the Pope.

Itinerarium fratris *Willielmi de Rubruquis* de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratię 1253. ad partes Orientales.

EXcellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minimus salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, In terram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed vtinam vt sapiens & non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non sapienter, sed magis stultè: de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, vt omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis vt non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non suppetunt, quæ debeam tantæ scribere Maiestati. Nouerit ergò vestra sancta maiestas, quòd anno Domini millessimo ducentessimo, quinquagessimo tertio, nonas Maij ingressi sumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgarici vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo milliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius sunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vna ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ. Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc | dicitur à Latinis Gasaria, [p. 72] à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam super littus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Cæsaria. Et sunt promontoria quædam extendentia se in mare, & contra meridiem versus Synopolim. Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Cassariam. Ita quod sint septingenta miliaria ab istis punctis versus Constantinopolim in longum & latum: & septingenta versus Orientem: hoc est, Hiberiam, quæ est prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gasariæ siue Casariæ applicuimus, quæ est quasi triangularis, ad Occidentem

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4

habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kersoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus. Et nauigantes corã ea vidimus insulam in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quę ex transuerso respicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Rossia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes transire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & grisiam, & alias pelles pretiosas. Alij portant telas de cottone siue bombasio, & pannos sericos & species aromaticas. Ad Orientẽ verò illius prouinciæ est ciuitas quæ dicitur Matriga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Ponti per orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium. Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare versus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine septinginta milliaria, nusquam habens profunditatem vltra sex passus, vnde magna vasa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Constantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas suas vsque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant pisces siccatos, sturiones, thosas, borbatas, & alios pisces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Cassaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem scilicet, vbi est Kersoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi est ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ est cuspis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi est ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium est Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sueui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Posteà versus meridiem est Trapesunda quę habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui est de genere imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: posteà Synopolis quæ est Soldani Turchiæ qui similiter obedit: posteà terra Vastacij cuius filius dicitur Astar ab auo materno, qui non obedit. Ab orificio Tanais versus Occidentem vsque ad Danubium totum est subditum. Etiam vltrà Danubium versus Constantinopolim, Valakia, quæ est terra Assani, & minor Bulgaria vsque in Solonomam omnes soluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum condictum sumpserunt annis nuper transactis de qualibet domo securim vnam, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in massa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaię in 12. Kalendas Iunij: & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Constantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra sancta volentes ire ad Sartach. Ego tamen prędicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuncius, nec vester, nec alicuius, sed ibam apud illos incredulos secundùm re-

Soldai

Matriga ciuitas.

Zikia.

gulam nostram. Tunc cùm applicuissem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me esse nuncium, & si non dicerem me esse nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi transitus. Tunc loquutus sum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantes tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuersi. Nos audiuimus, dixi, de Domino vestro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod esset Christianus: & gauisi sunt inde vehementer Christiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Christianissimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca sancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Christianitatis. Et ipsi receperunt nos gratanter, & dederunt nobis hospitium in ecclesia Episcopali. Et Episcopus ipsius ecclesiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego postea non inueni. Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res nostras vel equos pro summarijs. Et mercatores Constantinopolitani consuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas coopertas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles suas, & in illis includerem res nostras quas vellem quotidiè deponere, quia si acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere super alios, & prætereà equitarem lentiori gressu iuxta boues. Et tunc acquieui consilio eorum malo, tum quia fui in itinere vsq; Sarthach duobus mensibus, quod potuissem vno mense fecisse, si iuissem equis. Attuleram mecum de Constantinopoli fructus & vinum muscatum, & biscoctum delicatum de consilio mercatorum ad pręsentandū capitaneis primis, vt faciliùs pateret mihi transitus; quia nullus apud eos respicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia posui in vna biga, quando nō inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebāt mihi, quod gratissima forēt Sarthach, si possem deferre ea vsq; ad eū. Arripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis nostris quatuor coopertis & cū alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectisternia ad dormiendū de nocte, & quinque equos dabant
[p. 73] nobis ad equitandum. Eramus enim quinq; | personæ. Ego & socius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goset lator præsentium, & homo dei Turgemannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Constantinopoli de nostra eleemosyna. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & custodiebant boues & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria super Mare à Kersoua vsque ad orificium Tanais: & sunt quadraginta castella inter Kersouam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma:

inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum. Post illa montana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuulis: Et post illam syluam est planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vsque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod est vnum fossatum magnum ab vno Mari vsque ad aliud. In illa planicie solebant esse Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & castra vt darent eis tributum. Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorū intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vsque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant se mutuo viui morientes: secundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadauera. Versus extremitatem illius prouinciæ sunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis sunt fontes salmastri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit salem durum ad modum glaciei. Et de illis salinis habent Baatu & Sartach magnos reditus: quia de tota Russia veniunt illuc pro sale: & de qualibet biga onusta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naues pro sale, quæ omnes dant tributum secundum sui quantitatem. Postquam ergo recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cùm intraueram, visum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud sæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis describam prout possum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

NVsquam habent manentem ciuitatem, sed futuram ignorant. Inter se diuiserunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vsque ad ortum solis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, secundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines sub se, scit terminos pascuorum suorum, & vbi debet pascere hyeme & æstate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim descendunt ad calidiores regiones versus meridiem. In æstate ascendunt ad frigidiores versus aquilonem. Loca pascuosa sine aquis pascunt in hyeme quando est ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna sunt de virgis, & conveniunt in vnam paruulam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere ossium, vt albens splendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud

circa collum superius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante ostium similiter suspendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Consumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & bestias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas, quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim mensuraui semel latitudinem inter vestigia rotarum vnius bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat super bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine secundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo stabat in ostio domus super bigam minans boues. Insuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fissis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnius arcæ magnæ: & postea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant testudinem de similibus virgis, & ostiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & postea cooperiunt illam cistam siue domunculam filtro nigro imbuto seuo siue lacte ouino, ne possit penetrari pluuia: quod similiter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam suppellectilem suam & thesaurum: quas ligant fortiter super bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt possint transuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus suas mansionarias, semper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & consequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus stat inter duos ordines bigarum quasi inter duos
[p. 74] muros. | Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. *Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si sciuissem pingere. Vnus diues Moal siue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcis ducentas vel centum. Baatu habet sexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant post magnam, quæ sunt quasi cameræ; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet istarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit suam curiam in capite occidentali, & postea aliæ secundum ordinem suum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit spacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quasi vna magna Villa: tunc paucissimi viri erunt in ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana est. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam post aliam: & sedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bouem, & omnes aliæ

* Nota.

pari gressu sequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum passum, soluunt eas & transducunt sigillatim : Vadunt enim lento gressu, sicut agnus vel bos potest ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

POstquam deposuerint domus versa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonarem. Locus mulierum est semper ad latus Orientale hoc est ad sinistrum domini domus cum sedet in lecto suo versa facie ad meridiem : locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc est ad dextrum. Viri ingredientes domum nullo modo suspenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum. Et super caput Domini est semper vna imago quasi puppa & statuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini : alia similis super caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti : & superius inter vtramque illarum est vna paruula, macilenta, quæ est quasi custos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus suum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hœdinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam statuunculam paruulam respicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta ostium ad partem mulieris est iterum alia imago cum vbere vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio fæminarum est mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus ostij versus viros est alia statua cum vbere equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo spargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ est super caput domini : postea alijs imaginibus per ordinem : postea exit minister domum cum cipho & potu, & spargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu ; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis : postea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris : postea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ : ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem suam. Si bibit sedens super equum, infundit antequam bibat, super collum vel crinem equi. Postquam vero minister sic sparserit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & sunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori sedenti iuxta eum sursum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte sedet iuxta eum in die : & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum : & ibi tenetur curia illa die : & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in thesauris illius dominæ. Bancus ibi est cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios ad bibendum.

FAciunt in hyeme optimum potum, de risio, de millio, de melle: claret sicut vinum. Et defertur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æstate non curant nisi de Cosmos. Stat semper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud stat citharista cum citherula sua. Citheras & vielas nostras non vidi ibi, sed multa alia instrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus ministrorū exclamat alta voce, HA: & citharista percutit cicharum. Et quando faciunt festum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & saltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et postquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat minister sicut priùs, & tacet citharista: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt certatim valde turpiter & gulose. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potū arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, & plaudunt & saltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum festum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo sunt ei à dextris & sinistris: & sic illi tres veniunt cantantes vsque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & saltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipsi | subito resiliunt, & iterum sicut prius reuertuntur, & sic illudunt ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhileratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

Similiter in Florida.

[p. 75]

De cibarijs eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferenter comedunt omnia morticinia sua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non potest esse quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in æstate quamdiu durat eis cosmos, hoc est lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc si contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, siccant carnes scindendo per tenues pecias & suspendendo ad solem & ventum, quæ statim sine sale siccantur absque aliquo fætore. De intestinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reseruant ad hyemem. De pellibus boum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter siccant ad fumum. De posteriori parte pellis equi faciunt

pulcherrimos soculares. De carne vnius arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in scutella cum sale & aqua, aliam enim salsam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua solemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuilibet circumstantium buccellam vnam vel duas, secundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipse accipit quod placet ei: & etiam si dat alicui partem specialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam solus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non potest totum comedere, asportat secum, vel dat garcioni suo, si est presens, qui custodiat ei: sin aliter, recondit in saptargat suo, hoc est in bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & ossa recondunt, quando non habent spacium bene rodendi ea, vt postea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Cosmos.

IPsum Cosmos, hoc est lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam super terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc stant matres iuxta pullos suos & permittunt se pacifice mungi. Et si aliqua est nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & supponit ei permittens parum sugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis succedit. Congregata ergo multitudine lactis, quod est ita dulce sicut vaccinum, dum est recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem siue bucellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod grossum est inferius sicut caput hominis & cauatum subtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire sicut vinum nouū, & acescere siue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc gustant illud; & quando est temperate pungitiuum bibunt: pungit enim super linguam sicut vinum raspei dum bibitur. Et postquam homo cessat bibere, relinquit saporem super linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-cosmos, hoc est nigrum cosmos ad vsum magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim est: quod nullius animalis lac nisi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod spissum est in eo vadat ad fundum rectà, sicut

fæces vini, & quod purum est remanet superius, & est sicut serum, & sicut mustum album. Fæces sunt albæ multum, & dantur seruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & est pro certo valde suauis potus & bonæ efficaciæ. Baatu habet 30. casalia circa herbergiam suam ad vnam dietam, quorum vnumquodq; qualibet die seruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est, qualibet die lac trium millium equarū, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipsi afferunt ad curias dominorum suorum, ita & isti lac equarū tertiæ diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrū & bulliunt illud vsque ad perfectã decoctionẽ, & postea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reseruant. Et non ponunt sal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionẽ non putrescit: & reseruant illud contra hyemem. Residuū lac quod remanet post butirum permittunt acescere quantum acrius fieri potest & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud desiccant ad solem, & efficitur durum sicut scoria ferri. Quod recondunt in saccis contra hyemem:
[p. 76] tempore hyemali quando | deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coagulum, quod ipsi vocant gri-vt, in vtre, & super infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud resoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De bestijs quas comedunt, & de vestibus, ac de venatione eorum.

MAgni domini habent casalia versus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant sibi pro arietibus & pellibus commutando. Sclaui etiam implent ventrem suum aqua crassa, & hac contenti sunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipsi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna fouea in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt sex mensibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam sicut cati; & in summitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias bestiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipsi valde bene discernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi. lepores paucos vidi, gaselos multos. Asinos syluestres vidi in magna multitudine, qui sunt quasi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Artak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, sed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt

de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, girfalcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes portant super manum dexteram: & ponunt semper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quae pendet ei vsque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prędam, inclinant cum sinistra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur sursum. Magnum ergo partem victus sui acquirunt venatione. De vestibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perside & alijs regionibus austri veniunt eis panni serici & aurei, & telæ de bambasio, quibus induuntur in æstate. De Russia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Pascatir, quæ est maior Hungaria, & Kersis: (quę omnes sunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ syluis;) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles preciosæ multi generis: quas nunquã vidi in partibus nostris: Quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt semper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus est ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus est extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties sunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum sedent in domo habent aliam delicatiorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris. Quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudo & circundant regionem in qua sciunt feras esse, & paulatim appropinquant sibi, donec concludant feras inter se quasi infra circulum, & tunc sagitant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant vestes suas de stupa setæ, quæ est supra modum mollis, & leuis & calida. Pauperes furrant vestes de tela de bambasio, de delicatiori lana quam possunt extrahere: de grossiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum domos suas & cistas, & ad lectisternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas suas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas sub sellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidistis.

Maior Hungaria.

Nota.

De rasura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

VIri radunt in summitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt rasuram cristæ capitis vsque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vsque ad summum concauitatis ceruicis: & frontem anterius vsque ad frontinellam, super quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum descendentium vsque ad supercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas succingunt nodando vsque ad aures. Et habitus

puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, nisi quod aliquantulum est longior. Sed in crastino postquam est nupta radit caluariam suam à medietate capitis versus frontem, & habet tunicam latam sicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiorem & longiorem, fissam ante, quam ligat sub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas suas ad sinistram, Tartari semper ad dextram. Postea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botta, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam possunt inuenire, leuiore: & est grossum & rotundum, quantum potest duabus manibus complecti; longum vero vnius cubiti & plus, quadrum superius, sicut capitellum vnius columnæ. Istud botta cooperiunt panno serico precioso; & est concauum
[p. 77] interius: & super capitellum in | medio vel super quadraturã illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis scilicet vnius cubiti & plus: & illam sibi virgulam ornant superius de pennis pauonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præciosis. Diuites dominæ istud ornamentum ponunt in summitate capitis quod stringunt fortiter cum almucia, quę foramen habet in summitate ad hoc aptatũ, & in isto recondunt crines suos quos recolligũt à parte posteriori ad summitatem capitis quasi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod postea fortiter ligant sub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ simul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea desuper lancea. Et sedent omnes mulieres super equos sicut viti diuersificantes coxas; & ligant cucullas suas panno serico aerij coloris super renes, & alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam sub occulis, quæ descendit vsque ad pectus. Et sunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de naso pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies suas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de nuptijs earum.

OFicium fœminarum est ducere bigas, ponere domus super eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & consuere eas, quas consuunt filo de neruis. diuidunt enim neruos in minuta fila, & postea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Consuunt etiam soculares & soccos & alias vestes. Vestes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, &

quod fiant tonitrua si suspendantur ad siccandum: Imo lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua supra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis; & inuoluunt se in filtris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec transierit. Nunquã etiã lauant scutellos, imo carne cocta alueũ in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & postea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos. Viri faciunt solùm arcus & sagittas, fabricant strepas & fræna, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: custodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipsum cosmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: custodiunt etiam camelos, & onerant eos. Oues & Capras custodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inspissato & salso parant pelles. Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os suum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore suo super manus, & eadem humectant crines suos, & lauant caput suum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem nisi emat eam: vnde aliquando sunt puellæ multum advltæ ante quam nubant: semper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas. Seruant etiam gradus consanguinitatis primum & secundum: nullum autem seruant affinitatis. Habent enim simul vel successiue duas sorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui seruiunt eis in hac vita seruient in futura. Vnde de vidua credunt, quod semper reuertitur post mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis consuetudo inter eos quod filius scilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris sui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris semper accidit iuniori filio. Vnde oportet quod ipse prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris sui, quia adueniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc si vult vtitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat sibi iniuriam, si reuertatur ad patrem post mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad consanguineos, vt ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua est, accipe eam vbicunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis suis, donec inueniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quasi violenter ad domum.

Pellium paratio.

De iusticijs eorum & iudicijs, et de morte ac sepultura eorum.

DE iusticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet se intermittere. Etiam pater non audet iuuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad

curiam domini. Et si alius post appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod statim absque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui passus est iniuriam ducit eum quasi captiuum. Neminem puniunt capitali sententia, nisi deprehensus fuerit in facto, vel confessus. Sed quum diffamatus est à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidiũ puniunt capitali sententia, & etiam coitum cum non sua. Non suam dico vel vxorem vel
p. 78] famulam: Sua enim sclaua licet vti | prout libet. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, sicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit sæpe deprehensus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et si dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur sententia curiæ. Item falsos nuncios, quia faciunt se nuncios & non sunt, interficiunt. Item sacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis postea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehemẽter vlulando: & tunc sunt liberi quod non dant vectigal vsque ad annum. Et si quis interest morti alicujus adulti, non ingreditur domum ipsius Mangucham vsque ad annum. Si paruulus est qui moritur, non ingreditur vsque post lunationem. Iuxta sepulturam defuncti semper relinquunt domum vnam. Si est de nobilibus, hoc est de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur sepultura: & semper circa loca illa vbi sepeliunt nobiles suos est vna herbergia hominum custodientium sepulturas. Non intellexi quod ipsi recondunt thesaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumulum super defunctum & erigunt ei statuam versa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu sua ante vmbelicum. fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id est domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quendam nouiter defunctum, cui suspenderant pelles sexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet latus mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & apposuerunt ei cosmos vt biberet, & carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi sepulturas versus orientem. Areas scilicet magnas structas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & postea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit signum super domum suam, quod ibi est infirmus, & quod nullus ingrediatur: vnde nullus visitat infirmum nisi seruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt custodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt transire: timent enim ne mali spiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipsos diuinatores vocant tanquam sacerdotes suos.

Qualiter ingressi sunt inter Tartaros, & de ingratitudine eorum.

QVando ergo ingressi sumus inter illos barbaros, visum fuit mihi, vt dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud sæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis postquam diu fecerant nos expectare sedentes in vmbra sub bigis nigris. Prima quæstio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuissemus inter eos. habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs nostris, & dedimus de pane biscocto & vino quod attuleramus nobiscum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede. non dedimus eis, excusantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæsiuerunt vnde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire. dixi eis superiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod esset Christianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas vestras. Ipsi diligenter quæsiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitterer. Ego respondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundum, nec iuissem nisi voluissem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate superioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me esse nuncium vestrum. Tunc quæsiuerunt quid esset in bigis, vtrum esset aurum vel argentum, vel vestes preciosæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego respondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perueniremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum ista quærere: sed facerent me deduci vsque ad capitaneum suum, & ipse si vellet mihi præbere ducatum vsque ad Sartach faceret: sin minus, reuerterer. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus consanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui dominus imperator Constantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret transire. Tunc ipsi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos sunt reuersi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane nostro pro parvulis suis: Et omnia quæ videbant super famulos nostros, cultellos, chirothecas, bursas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excusabam me, quia longa nobis restabat via, nec debebamus ita cito spoliare nos rebus necessarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod essem batrator. Verum est quod nihil abstulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et si dat homo eis perdit, quia sunt ingrati. Reputant se dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & postea indigeat seruicio eorum, male ministrant ei. Dederunt nobis

bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant Apram: & sic recessimus ab eis. Et visum fuit mihi recte, quod euasissem de manibus dæmonum. In crastino peruenimus ad capitaneum. Ex quo recessimus a
[p. 79] Soldaia vsque ad Sartach in duobus mensibus nunquam iacuimus in domo nec in tentorio, sed semper sub dio, vel sub bigis nostris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel vestigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuisset villa, nisi tumbas Comanorũ in maxima multitudine. Illo sero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere cosmos; ad cuius haustum totus sudaui propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo. valde tamen sapidum videbatur mihi, sicut vere est.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Christiani non bibunt cosmos.

MAne ergo obviauimus bigis Scacatay onustis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magna. Mirabar etiam super multitudine armentorum boum & equorum & gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui ista gubernarent. vnde inquisiui quot homines haberet sub se? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non plusquam quingentos, quorum medietatem transiueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod aliquid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipse fecit nos stare, & præcessit nuncians aduentum nostrum. Iam erat hora plusquam tertia, & deposuerunt domos suas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpres ipsius, qui statim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, poposcit de cibis nostris, & dedimus ei, poscebat etiam vestimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbũ nostrum ante dominum suum. Excusauimus nos. Quæsiuit quid portaremus domino suo? Accepimus vnum flasconem de vino, & impleuimus vnum veringal de biscocto & platellum vnum de pomis & aliis fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressi sumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipse in lecto suo tenens citharulam in manu, & vxor sua iuxta eum: de qua credebã in veritate, quod amputasset sibi nasum inter oculos vt simior esset: nihil enim habebat ibi de naso, & vnxerat locum illum quodam vnguento nigro, & etiam supercilia: quod erat turpissimum in oculis nostris. Tunc dixi ei verba supradicta. Vbique enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim eramus bene prẹmoniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam

Nota diligenter.

mutaremus verba nostra. Rogaui etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munusculum de manu nostra, excusans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis nostri possidere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod possem ei dare: sed de cibis nostris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & distribuit statim hominibus suis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Constantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis ascensionis) Qui statim eas Soldaiam misit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat secum qui sciret literas Græcas. Quæsiuit etiam à nobis, si vellemus bibere cosmos, hoc est, lac iumentinum. Christiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui sunt inter eos, qui volunt stricte custodire legem suam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant se Christianos postquam biberunt. Et sacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negassent fidem Christianam. Ego respondi, quod habebamus adhuc sufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæsiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis nostris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clausæ erant bullæ nostræ: & quod non erant in eis nisi bona verba & amicabilia. Quæsiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Respondi, Verba fidei Christianę. Quæsiuit quæ? Quia libenter vellet audire. Tunc exposui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nullius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, symbolū fidei. Quo audito, ipse tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc assignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos custodirent, & equos & boues: & fecit nos bigare secum, donec reuerteretur nuncius, quem ipse miserat pro interpretatione literarum imperatoris; & iuimus cum eo vsque in crastinum Pentecostes.

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia Pentecostes.

IN vigilia Pentecostes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur * Acias, Christiani secundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Greças & sacerdotes Græcos: tamen non sunt schismatici sicut Græci; sed sine acceptione personarum venerantur omnem Christianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ solennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et exposui eis de solen-

* Vel Akas.

nitate, super quo fuerunt multum gauisi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ spectant ad ritum Christianum, solo nomine Christi excepto. Quæsiuerunt & ipsi & alij multi Christiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum possent saluari, quia oportebat eos bibere cosmos, & comedere morticinia & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus: | quæ [p. 80] etiam ipsi Græci & Ruteni sacerdotes reputant quasi morticinia vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij: nec poterant custodire etiam si cognouissent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reseruauimus vsque ad diem festum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, nisi pro telis & alijs *pannis: & illos non habebamus. Quum famuli nostri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipsi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore sentirent, vtrum essent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum nisi lac vaccinum acre valde & fœtidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Nisi fuisset biscoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuissemus mortui.

De Saraceno qui dixit se velle baptizarj, et de hominibus qui apparent leprosi.

IN die pentecostes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiscum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Christi, & resurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum esset in baptismo: dixit se velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipse subito ascendit equum suum, dicens se iturum domum & habiturum consilium cum vxore sua. Qui in crastino loquens nobiscum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptisma, quia tunc non biberet cosmos. Christiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Christianus deberet bibere: & sine potu illo non posset viuere in solitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multū elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo est inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vsque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos vsque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde distabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vtres lactis vaccini, & de cosmos

* Nota diligentissime.

parum: quia illud preciosum est inter illos. Et sic arripientes iter rectè in aquilonem, visum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni transissemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amissis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno fossato ab vno mari vsque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intrassemus: videbantur nobis leprosi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus sal a salinis superius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus cosmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biscoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere, & nescio quot vtres plenos lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuinus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vsque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inuenimus aquam in illa via nisi in fossis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiuimus prædictam prouinciam Gasariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla est sylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Tentonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valani. Ab Isidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vsque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio vsque Tanaim; qui est terminus Asiæ & Europæ, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ tota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vsque *Etiliam: Inter quæ flumina sunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò istius prouincię iacet Russia, quę vbique syluas habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vsque Tanaim: quæ tota vastata est à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vastatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia sunt Christiani, Saracenos: & cum non possunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad solitudinem vt custodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Russiam ad aquilonem est Prussia, quam nuper subiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquierent Russiam, si apponerent manum. Si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus sacerdos, hoc est, Papa faceret cruce signari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad solitudines suas.

Salinæ.

Decem dietæ.

Comaniç longitudo.

Russia.

Prussia.

* Etilia quæ & Volga flumen.

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de sepultura Comanorum.

IBbanus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi cœlum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam sepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis
[p. 81] à | duabus leucis secundum quod solebant parentelæ eorum sepeliri simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quòd tędium quod patiebar quum veniebanus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprimere verbis. Volebat enim dux noster, quod ad quoslibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xenio: & ad hoc non sufficiebant expensæ. Quotidie enim eramus octo personæ comedentes viaticum nostrũ exceptis seruientibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & vnus iturus nobiscum vsque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabant non sufficiebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis nostris pro vmbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuò faciebant immunditias suas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tędiosa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpres meus dicebat, non facietis me prædicare; quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepi aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de mansione in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluuium magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus fluuius Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo & postea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde stulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis ministrare equos, & dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulauimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant priuilegiũ à Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud,

Calor maximus ibi in æstate.

Tanais fluuius.

Casale Rutenorum.

nisi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam à mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per diuersas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluuius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ est Sequana Parisijs. Et antequam peruenissemus ad locum illum, transiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes eius, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluuius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluuius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, antequam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam prędictum flumen magnam syluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis *circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Vnde aliud est casale inferius vbi transeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laboraui pro communi vtilitate omnium Christianorum, accõmodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunicalia sua exterius ornant vario vel grisio a pedibus vsque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati & boues similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tartaros inuenire, accurrerunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & ascenderunt eos dux noster & interpres, vt specularentur quorsum possemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de mansione ad mansionem donec peruenimus vsque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

* Ad introitum Augusti redeunt ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

REgio ista vltra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina & syluas ad aquilonem. Sunt syluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puri pagani. Ciuitatem non habent sed casulas in syluis.
[p. 82] Dominus eorum & magna | pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania. Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniæ. Vnde ipsi multum commendant Alemanos, sperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à seruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo descendit prouideat ei quamdiu vult esse inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat nisi videat proprijs oculis: vnde non sunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles preciosæ, & falcones. Post illos sunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas,
Merdui Saraceni. quos latini vocant Merduos, & sunt Saraceni. Post illos est *Etilia, quæ est maior fluuius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu, de quo postea dicam vobis. Ista ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia versus regiones Aquilonis per quas transiuimus non distant ab inuicem nisi decem dietis, sed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim descendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare siue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perside. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus versus solitudinem illam Cergis & Alani siue †Acas, qui sunt Christiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Post istos prope Mare siue
Lesgi Saraceni. lacum Etiliæ sunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Lesgi, qui similiter obediunt. Post hos est Porta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perside: de cuius situ dicam vobis postea, ‡quia transiui per eam in reditu. Et inter ista duo flumina in illis terris per quas transiuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet sex vxores,

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* vel Volga fluuius. † Kerkis vél Aas.
‡ Reditus eius per Derbent.

& filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Accessit autem ductor noster ad quendam Nestorinum Coiat nomine, qui est vnus de maioribus Curiæ suæ. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam. Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In sero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noster quid portaremus ei, & cœpit multum scandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetimus coram eo, & ipse sedebat in gloria sua & faciebat sonare citharam & saltare coram se. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas nostras. Excusaui etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid preciosum, solis libris & capella in qua seruiebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino suo. Qui enim propria dimiseram, non poteram portator esse alienorum. Tunc respondit satis mansuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: sic seruarem votum meum, & non indigebat rebus nostris; sed magis daret nobis de suis, si indigeremus: & fecit nos sedere & bibere de lacte suo. Et post pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæsiuit & quis esset maior dominus inter Francos. Dixi, Imperator, si haberet terram suam in pace. Non, inquit, sed Rex Franciæ. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuersi sumus ad hospitium nostrum. In crastino misi ei vnum flasconem de vino Muscato, quod optime se custodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biscocto quod fuit ei gratissimum, & retinuit illo sero famulos nostros secum. In crastino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus suus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam pane & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & vestes explicari, & circumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Christiani & Saraceni: quibus inspectis, quæsiuit, si vellem ista omnia dare domino suo, quo audito, expaui, & displicuit mihi verbum, dissimulans tamen respondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noster dignetur recipere panem istum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid est, sed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipse autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas sciet, qua de causa venimus ad eum: & tunc stabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res nostræ.

Coiat Nestorinus.

Vestes enim sanctæ sunt, & non licet eas contingere nisi sacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod indueremus nos ituri coram domino suo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus preciosioribus vestibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & biblium quod dederatis mihi, psalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit missale & crucem, clericus indutus supercilicio accepit thuribulum: sic accessimus ante dominum eius: [p. 83] & leuauerunt | filtrum quod pendebat ante ostium vt nos posset videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requisiuerunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, vt caueremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & vt cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingressi sumus cantando, Salue regina. In introitu autem ostij stabat bancus cum cosmos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipsi Moal. Ingredientes nobiscum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenso, quod ipse respexit, tenens in manu diligenter: postea tulit ei psalterium quod valde respexit, & vxor eius sedens iuxta eum. Postea tulit biblium, & ipse quæsiuit, si euangelium esset ibi. Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu sua, & quæsiuit de imagine, vtrum esset imago Christi? Respondi quod sic. Ipsi Nestoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt super cruces suas figuram Christi. Vnde videntur male sentire de passione, vel erubescunt eam. Postea fecit circumstantes nos retrahere se, vt plenius posset videre ornamenta nostra. Tunc obtuli ei literas vestras cum transcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant sacerdotes Armeni, qui sciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui sciebat Syrianum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiuimus & deposuimus vestimenta nostra: & venerunt scriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: vestimentà & libros fecit nos reportare ad hospitium. Hoc actum est in festo Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu patrem Sartach.

IN crastino mane venit quidam sacerdos frater ipsius Coiac postulans vasculum cum chrismate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, vt dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora vespertina vocauit

nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex scripsit bona verba Domino meo: Sed sunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, sine consilio patris sui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem suum, & duas bigas quas adduxistis heri cum vestimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego statim suspicatus sum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non solum illas sed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus sub custodia vestra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle vestrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo posset fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei. Tunc quæsiuit si vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexistis literas domini regis, potestis scire, quod sic. Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos esse patientes multum, & humiles. Sic discessimus ab eo illo sero. In crastino mane misit vnum sacerdotem Nestorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipsius Coiacis, seperauit omnia nostra ab ipsis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam sua, scilicet libros & vestimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiscum vestimenta quibus induti fueramus coram Sartach vt illis indueremur coram Baatu si expediret: quas ille sacerdos abstulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attulisti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, respondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc necessaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingressus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iusticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipse aliquid aliter dixisset, quam ego dixissem ei: quia ipse bene voluisset, quod de omnibus fecissemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi solacium, quia quum persensi cupiditatem eorum, ego subtraxi de libris Biblium & sententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Psalterium dominæ reginæ non fui ausus subtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuersi sumus cum duobus residuis bigis ad hospitium nostrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum festinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas. Quod ipse retulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipsum cum garcione nostro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes versus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone descenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis supradictus Coiac cum alijs multis scriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noster sit Christianus, sed Moal. Quia nomen Christianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiusdam gentis. In tantam superbiam sunt erecti, quod

Perueniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

quamuis aliquid forte credant de Christo, tamen nolunt dici
[p. 84] Christiani volentes nomen suum, hoc est, | Moal exaltare super omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari: Tartari enim fuerunt alia gens de quibus sic didici.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham faciunt reuerentiam Christianis.

Con can.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus Aquilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan. Con est proprium nomen: Can nomen dignitatis quod idem est qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can. Vnde principes dicuntur Can, quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in historia Antiochiæ, quod Turci miserunt propter succursum contra Francos ad regnum Con can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci. Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem est quod nigrum. Catai nomen gentis. Vndè Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay. Et hoc dicitur ad differentiam ipsorum Catay qui erant in Oriente super Oceanum de quibus postea dicam vobis. Isti Catay erant in quibusdam alpibus per quas transiui. Et in quadam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Nestorinus pastor potens & dominus super populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Mortuo Con can eleuauit se ille Nestorius in regem, & vocabant eum Nestoriani Regem Iohannem: & plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quàm veritas esset. Ita enim faciunt Nestoriani venientes de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores. Vnde disseminauerunt de Sartach quod esset Christianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can: quia faciunt maiorem reuerentiam Christianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Christiani non sunt. Sic ergo exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego transiui per pascua eius, nullus aliquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestoriani pauci. In pascuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam fuit frater Andreas: & ego etiam transiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam potens, pastor similiter, nomine Vut: & ipse erat vltra Alpes ipsorum Caracatay, distans à fratre suo spacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiusdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Caracarum, populum habens sub se, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Sed ipse dominus eorum dimisso cultu Christi, sectabatur idola; habens sacerdotes idolorum, qui omnes sunt inuocatores dæmonum & sortilegi. Vltra pascua istius ad decem vel quindecem dietas

Vnde venerunt Turci.

Caracatay.

Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.

Prebsyter Iohannes.

Kencham vbi habitauit.

Frater Andreas in Curia Kencham.

Vut can, vel Vnc.

Caracarum Villula.

Crit, & Merkit.

erant pascua Moal: qui erant pauperrimi homines sine capitaneo & sine lege, exceptis sortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit sine hærede, & ditatus est frater eius Vnc; & faciebat se vocari Can: & mittebantur armenta greges eius vsque ad terminos Moal. Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo Moal: & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat: In tantum quod conquesti sunt pastores Vut domino suo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, quærens ipsum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipse Vut accepta prædà Moal & à Tartaris reuersus est. Tunc ipse Cyngis allocutus est Tartaros & ipsos Moal dicens, Quia sine duce sumus opprimunt nos vicini nostri. Et fecerunt ipsum ducem & capitaneum Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit super ipsum Vut, & vicit ipsum, & ipse fugit in Cathaiam. Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxorem, ex quo ipsa suscepit istum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipse Cyngis premittebat vbique ipsos Tartaros: & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti sunt. Vnde isti Moal modo volunt extinguere illud nomen, & suum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi est adhuc curia Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari est regio circa quam fuit acquisitio eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt suum Can.

Moal pauperrimi homines.

Tartarorum sedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caspio. [p. 85]

DE Sartach autem vtrum credit in Christum vel non nescio. Hoc scio quod Christianus non vult dici. Immò magis videtur mihi deridere Christianos. Ipse enim est in itinere Christianorum, scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariæ, Soldainorum, Kerkisorum, Alanorum: qui omnes transeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris sui deferre ei munera, vnde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen si Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citiùs expediuntur. Habet etiam circa se Nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam, & cantant officium suum.

Est alius qui dicitur Berta super Baatu, qui pascit versus Portam ferream, vbi est iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perside & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & transeuntes per

Berta vel Berca.

eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit se Saracenum, & non permittit in terra sua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu nostro præceperat ei, quod transferret se de illo loco vltra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum transire per eum, quia videbatur sibi damnosum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouisum fuit nobis de cibo, nisi semel de modico cosmos. In via verò inter ipsum & patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani serui eorum, quorum est magna multitudo inter eos, associant se viginti vel triginta simul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando sunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in pascuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt secum, vt comedant quum indiguerint. Occursum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noster. In illa via fuissemus mortui fame, si non portauissemus nobiscum modicum de biscocto.

Exacta maris Caspij descriptio.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Est enim in quadruplo maius quàm Sequana, & profundissimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ est ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, siue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ est iuxta ripam eius in Perside. Sed Isidorus vocat illud mare Caspium. Habet enim montes Caspios, & Persidem à meridie: montes verò Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caspijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam solitudinem, in qua modò sunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui crescit in æstate sicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Lesgi; & Portam feream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem.

Canglæ populi, vel Cangittæ.

Frater Andreas.

Frater Andreas ipse circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale scilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare scilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor mensibus potest circundari. Et non est verum quod dicit Isidorus, quòd sit sinus exiens ab Oceano: nusquam enim tangit Oceanum, sed vndique circundatur terra.

Reprehenditur Isidori error de mari Caspio.

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo. [p. 86]

TOta illa regio à latere Occidentali istius maris, vbi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alanorum, vsq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, solebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Isidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant. Quod verũ est, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi versus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis sicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus super Etiliam est casale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui transponunt nuncios euntes, & redeuntes ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu est in vlteriori ripa versus Orientem: nec transit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus ascendendo in æstate, sed iam incipiebat descendere. De Ianuario enim vsque ad Augustum ascendit ipse, & omnes alij versus frigidas regiones, & in Augusto incipiunt redire. Descendimus ergo in naui ab illo casali vsque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vsque ad villas maioris Bulgarię versus Aquilonem, sunt quinque dietæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ est exitus Persidis, sunt plusquam triginta dietæ per transuersum, solitudinem ascendendo iuxta Etiliam vsque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla est ciuitas, nisi quædam casalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quàm aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quasi quædam magna ciuitas protensa in lõgum, & populus vndiq; circumfusus, vsq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et sicut populus Israel sciebat vnusquisq;, ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipsi sciunt ad quod latus curiæ debeant se collocare, quando ipsi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in medio hominum suorum: hoc excepto, quod rectà ad meridiem nullus se collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curiæ: Sed à dextris & à sinistris extendunt se quantum volunt secundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex opposito curiæ non descendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: sequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuisset capere tot homines & mulieres, quot conuenerant. Monuit nos ductor noster vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quæsiuit etiam

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Isidorus.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Descendit naui per flumen Volga.

Nota. 30 dietę à Porta ferrea. Astracan.

Decscriptio curiæ Baatu.

Horda sonat medium.

Misit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

vtrum misissetis nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miseratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipsum misissetis nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, nisi credidissetis eos fuisse Christianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, sed ex congratulatione, quia audiueratis eos esse Christianos, misistis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem: & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorij, quas ipsi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu nostro discoopertis capitibus, & eramus spectaculum magnum in oculis

Iohannes de Plano carpini.

eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Iohannes de Plano carpini, sed ipse mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vsque ad medium tentorij, nec requisiuerunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, sicut solent facere nuncij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum possit dici, Miserere mei Deus: & omnes erant in summo silentio. Ipse verò super solium longum sedebat & latum sicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod ascendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffusi sedebant à dextris dominæ & à sinistris: quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi solæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum cosmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis, ornatis lapidibus prætiosis erat in introitu tentorij. Respexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi similis in statura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requiescit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfusus gutta rosea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noster præcepit vt flecteremus genua, & loqueremur. Flexi vnum genu tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere super hoc. Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis ista terrena, vt det vobis post hęc cœlestia: quia hæc sine illis vana sunt. Et ipse diligenter auscultauit, & subiunxi: Noueritis pro certo quòd cœlestia non habebitis, nisi fueritis Christianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipse modestè subrisit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obstupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc facto silentio, dixi:

Literæ Regis Francorum.

Ego veni ad filium vestrum, quia audiuimus quòd esset Christianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipse misit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis | scire qua de causa. Tunc fecit me surgere. Et quæsiuit nomen vestrum, & meum, & socij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia scribi. Quæsiuit etiam, quia

[p. 87]

intellexerat quod exieratis terram vestram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Respondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hierusalem. Quæsiuit etiam si vnquam misissetis nuncios ad eum. Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos sedere, & dari de lacte suo ad bibendum, quod ipsi valdè magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit cosmos cum eo in domo sua. Et dum sedens respicerem terram, præcepit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius respicere, vel fortè pro sortilegio : quia habent pro malo omine vel signo, vel pro mala Prognostica, quando aliquis sedet coram eis inclinata facie quasi tristis, maximè quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum super manum. Tunc exiuimus, & post pauca, venit Ductor noster ad nos, & ducens nos ad hospitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rex rogat, quod retinearis in terra ista : & hoc non potest Baatu facere sine conscientia Mangu cham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpres tuus eatis ad Mangu cham. Socius verò tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertatis. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans se perditum : Socius etiam meus contestari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur à me. Et ego dixi, quod sine socio non possem ire : Et etiam quod benè indigebamus duobus famulis, quia si contingeret vnum infirmari, non possem solus remanere. Tunc ipse reuersus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc præcepit : vadant duo sacerdotes & interpres : & Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuersus dixit nobis summam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiscum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemosyna habebat Goset clericus viginti sex ipperpera, & non plus : quorum decem retinuit sibi & puero : & sexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et sic diuisi sumus cum lachrimis ab inuicem : Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum versus curiam Mangu cham.

IN Vigilia Assumptionis peruenit ipse clericus ad Curiam Sartach : & in crastino fuerunt Sacerdotes Nestorini induti vestimentis nostris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hospitem, qui debebat nobis prouidere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia malè faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu descendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque septimanas. Aliquando habuit socius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quasi lachrymando : videbatur mihi quod nunquam

Quinque septimanas iuxta Etiliam descendebant.

comederim. Forum sequitur semper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longè à nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus sciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quasi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias suorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter instructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, sed nesciebat respondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam consolationem, afferentes cosmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum postulassent à nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos possem dare, nullos enim habebam, nisi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego scribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hîc: quod & fecerunt. Et scripsi vtrasque horas Beatæ Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit se nobis quidam Comanus, salutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipso resalutato, quæsiui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam salutationem. Et ipse dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus à fratribus nostris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quæsiuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipse dixerat ei conditiones ordinis nostri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba sua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, secundùm æstimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa finem exaltationis sanctæ crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius pater erat millenarius, quod magnum est inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangu cham, & est iter quatuor mensium: & tantum frigus est ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis sustinere. Cui respondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos sustinebimus, quod alij homines possunt sustinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis sustinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui respondi, hoc non esset iustum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, nisi missi à Domino vestro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, benè erit. [p. 88] Post | hoc fecit nos ostendere sibi omnes vestes nostras, & quod sibi videbatur minus necessarium fecit deponere sub custodia hospitis nostri. In crastino attulerunt cuilibet nostrum vnam pelliceam villosam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas siue bucellos secundùm morem eorum cum soccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus secundùm modum eorum. Et secunda die post exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes signarios: & equitauimus continuè versus Orientem vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor mensium à Volga.

Ingens frigus.

16. Septemb.

Cangle populi.

Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caspium. Maior Bulgaria.

De flumine Iagag, & de diuersis regionibus siue nationibus.

POstquam iueramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in prędictum mare. Idioma Pascatir & Hungarorum idem est: & sunt pastores sine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgariæ ab Occidente. Ab illa terra versus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non est amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior est vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Pascatir exierunt Huni, qui posteà dicti sunt Hungari. Vnde ipsa est maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Isidorus, quòd pernicibus equis claustra Alexandri rupibus Caucasi feras gentes cohibentia transierunt: ita quod usque in Ægyptum soluebatur eis tributum. Destruxerunt etiam omnes terras usque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentiæ, quàm sunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui sunt vltra Danubium propè Constantinopolin, & iuxta Pascatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt Tartari sonare: à quibus venerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani. Vtrosque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum est idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte est cum Tartaris quos Deus suscitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum multum, & gentem stultam, secundùm quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id est, non custodientes Legem suam, in eo qui non est populus, & in gente stulta irritabo eos: Hoc completur ad literam super omnes nationes non custodientes Legem Dei. Hoc quod dixi de terra Pascatir scio per fratres Prædicatores,* qui iuerunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipsi subiugati à vicinis Bulgaris Saracenis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia possunt sciri per Chronica: quia constat quod illæ prouinciæ post Constantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Grecorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia. Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à festo Sanctæ crucis vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum est à

Iagag flumen 12. dietis à Volga.

Pascatir terra, vel Bascirdorum terra vel Zibier.

Hungari à Pascatir oriundi.

Nota.

Deut. 32. 21.

Cangle planicies ingens.

* Qui fuerunt isti fratres?

Parisijs vsque Aurelianum, secundùm quod possum estimare, & plus aliquando: secundùm quod habebamus copiam equorum. Aliquando enim mutabamus bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos semper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi semper prouidebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderosus valdè: sed vtrum suauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non auderem facere quæstionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, si durè portaret. Sed fortunam suam oportebat vnumquemque sustinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam possemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam vestes super alios saginarios, mutare equos saginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

De fame & siti, & alijs miserijs quas sustinuerunt in itinere.

DE fame & siti, frigore & fatigatione non est numerus. Non enim dant cibum nisi in sero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel sorbere milium. In sero dabant nobis carnes, scapulam arietis cum costis & de brodio ad mensuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carnium ad satietatem optimè reficiebamur. [p. 89] Et videbatur mihi suauissimus potus & | maximè nutriens. Feria sexta permanebam ieiunus vsq; ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in tristitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes semicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte descendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere stercora equorum vel boum: aliam materiam ignis rarò inueniebamus; nisi fortè alicubi aliquas spinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum sunt alicubi syluæ. Sed hoc rarò. In principio despiciebat nos multùm Ductor noster, & fastidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Postea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoscere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos orare pro ipsis. Vnde si habuissem bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem seminandi multa bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egressi sunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidiè multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vastam solitudinem, quæ est sicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noster. Et mirabantur

Defectus materiæ ignis.

Aliqua flumina.

Vasta solitudo.

Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (Et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliæ, sicut Baatu, vt pascam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vinctum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæsiuit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: & ipse confessus est, tamen excusauit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere vsque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta mõtes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transtulerat eos de licentia Baatu versus Orientem spacio itineris vnius mensis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Transiui eundo satis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: sed ego ignoraui: nec potuissem etiam declinasse extra viam, si benè sciuissem. A prædicto casali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbique cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore nostro: quia ipse erat nuncius Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent sibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu
[p. 90] | prædicto modo: Et similiter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores sunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus post hoc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus solebant habitare Cara catay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluuium, quem oportuit nos transire nauigio. Post hæc intrauimus quandam vallem, vbi vidi castrum quoddam destructum, cuius muri non erant nisi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et pòst inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equius, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Persicum: longissimè tamen erant à Perside. Sequenti die transgressis illis Alpibus quæ descendebant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à sinistris, siue quendam lacum qui durat quindecem dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis descendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In æstate rediuimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, vbi similiter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta solebant esse multæ villæ: sed pro maiori parte omnes erant destructæ, vt pascerent ibi Tartari: quia optima pascua erant ibi. Vnam magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores.

Casale.

Bolac villa. Aurifodinæ.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus habitabant Caracatay.

Magnus fluuius.

Terra culta.

Equius villa bona.

Longissimè a Perside.

Lacus quindecem dietarum circuitu.

Cailac magna villa

supra modum, quia nolebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes præciosas. Quærebant etiam de magno Papa, si esset ita senex sicut audierant: audierant enim quod esset quingentorum annorum. Quærebant de terris nostris si ibi essent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod esset sine termino vel sine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimisimus viam in Orientem, *quia iam populus descenderat multum versus meridiem: Et direximus iter per quasdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis assimulantur mulis: quos multum prosequuti sunt Dux noste & socij eius, sed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altissimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur sicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci nostro cum ceruisia & ciphis. Hic est enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis subditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi super glaciem. Et prius à festo Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in solitudine. Quæsiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: sed quia iam eramus in alio territorio nescierunt mihi dicere, nisi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et descendebat magnus fluuius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, secundùm quod volebant aquam ducere: nec descendebat in aliquod mare, sed absorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Iter versus meridiem octo dierum.

Asini velocissimi.

Montes altissimi.

Terræ cultæ.

Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nouembris ibant super glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua.

Magnus fluuius.

Multæ paludes.

Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonicorum.

SEquenti die venimus ad aliud casale propinquius montibus. Et quæsiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quòd essent montes Caucasi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vsque ad Orientem: & quod transiueramus mare supradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæsiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici serui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæsiueram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis.

Casale.

Montes Caucasi contiguantur mari Orientali.

Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas.

Frater Andreas.

* Nota diligenter.

In illa quieuimus quindecem diebus, expectantes quendam scriptorem Baatu, qui debebat esse socius ducis nostri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa solebat dici Organum: & solebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate solebant facere Nestorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia solebant esse optimi Organistæ vel Citharistæ, vt dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod sunt multæ sectæ in Oriente.

& plena mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

Quod Nestorini et Saraceni sunt mixti & Idolatrę.

PRimi sunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos versus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini & Saraceni. Et ipsi etiã sunt diffusi versus Persidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prędicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipsi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, vt viderem stultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento super manum suam. Vnde credidi quod esset Christianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, respondebat vt Christianus. Vnde quęsiui ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Iesu Christi? Et ipse respondit, non habemus consuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod essent Christiani: sed ex defectu doctrinę omitterent. Videbam enim ibi post quandam cistam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, super quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quasi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quasi ipsorum tenentes digitos sicut ad benedicendum. Illo sero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantũ inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Sararcenis de ritu talium, ipsi scandalizabantur. In crastino fuerunt kalendæ & pascha Saracenorum & mutaui hospitium: ita quod fui hospitatus prope aliam Idolatriam. Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet secuudum posse suum vel portionem suam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inueni sacerdotes Idolorum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa sua, & ornant se sacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primò ergo describo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatrarum: & postea istorum Iugurum; qui sunt quasi secta diuisa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complosis manibus: & prosternentes se genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem super manus. Vnde Nestorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando:

Iugures populi, Idolatræ.

Cailac.

Iugures secta diuisa ab alijs Idololatris.

sed orant extensis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa sua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quasi eorũ exeuntem: vel aliter, Si est domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & latam sicut mensam vnam. Et post illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracarum, ita magnum sicut pingitur Sanctus Christopherus. Et dixit mihi quidam sacerdos Nestorinus, qui venerat ex Cataya, quod in terra illa est Idolum ita magnum, quod potest videri à duabus dietis. Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super cistam illam, quæ est quasi mensa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum sunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas sicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gasaria.

Fuit apud Caracarum frater Wilhelmus.

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De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter se habent in officio deorum suorum.

OMnes sacerdotes eorum rasum habent totum caput & barbam; sunt vestiti de croceo, & seruant castitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo scamna, & sedent è regione chorus contra chorum habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quãdiu insunt in tẽplo, legentes in silencio, & tenentes silencium. Vnde cùm ingressus fuissem apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & inuenissem eos ita sedentes, multis modis tentaui eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quendam restem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, sicut nos portamus pater noster: Et dicunt semper hæc verba: *Ou mam Hactaui*: hoc est, Deus tu nosti; secundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus est mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum suum semper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua sedent ad colloquendum. Et super illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat si possint, super totam villam. Et per illam perticam potest cognosci, quod domus illa sit templum Idolorum. Ista communia sunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingressus fui prędictam Idolatriam, in-

ueni sacerdotes sedentes sub porta exteriori. Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci esse rasis barbis. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Istorum Iugurum sacerdotes habent talem habitum quocunque vadunt: semper sunt in tunicis croceis satis strictis accincti desuper recte sicut Franci: & habent pallium super humerum sinistrum descendens inuolutū per pectus & dorsum ad latus dextrum sicut diaconus portans casulam in quadragesima. Istorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipsi incipiunt scribere sursum, & ducunt lineam deorsum, & eodem modo ipsi legunt & multiplicant lineas a sinistra ad dextram. Isti multum vtuutur cartis & caracteribus pro sortilegio. Vnde templa sua plena sunt breuibus suspensis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Isti comburunt mortuos suos secundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in summitate pyramidis. Cum ergo sedissem iuxta prædictos sacerdotes, postquam ingressus fueram templum & vidissem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæsiui ab eis, quid ipsi crederent de Deo. Qui responderunt, Non credimus nisi vnum Deum. Et ego quæsiui. Creditis quod ipse sit spiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod sit spiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam sumpserit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non sit nisi vnus spiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot insuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus sit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc responderunt, Nos non figuramus istas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex nostris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramur eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis ista nisi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæsiuerunt à me quasi deridendo: vbi est Deus? Quibus ego. Vbi est anima vestra? Dixerunt, in corpore nostro. Quibus ego. Nonne est vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique est, & omnia gubernat, inuisibilis tamen, quia intellectus & sapientia est. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpres meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Istorum sectę sunt Moal siue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipsi non credunt nisi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum suorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciocissimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audet tangere: & sunt sub custodia diuinatorum suorum, qui sunt eorum sacerdotes, de quibus postea narrabo vobis. Isti diuinatores semper sunt ante curiam ipsius

Tyarę cartaceæ.

Chinenses ita etiam scribunt.

Sortilegi.

Bombustio mortuorum.

Mangu & aliorū diuitum: pauperes enim non habent eos; nisi illi qui sunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipsi præcedunt, sicut columna nubis filios Israel, & ipsi considerant locum metandi castra, & post deponunt domos suas; & post eos tota curia. Et tunc cum sit dies festus sive kalendæ ipsi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo sua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant se imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneo licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

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De diuersis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere solebant parentes suos.

PRædicti vero Iugures, qui sunt mixti cum Christianis & Saracenis, per frequentes disputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt nisi vnum deum. Et isti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui post obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipse dedit regi eorum filiam suam. Et ipsa Caracarum est quasi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis siue presbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem. Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum. Et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum: & omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum. Post istos sunt ipsi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortissimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimissus ab eis, postea subiugauit eos. Isti habent boues fortissimos habentes caudas plenas pilis sicut equi, & ventres pilosos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt alijs bobus in tibijs, sed ferociores multum. Isti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acuosa, acutissima: ita quod oportet semper secare summitates eorum. Vacca non permittit se iniungi nisi cantetur ei. Habent etiam naturam bubali quia si vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post illos sunt Tebet homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctos, ut causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulchrum eis nisi viscera sua. Modo tamen hoc dimiserunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate sua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Isti habent multum de auro in terra sua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, residuum condens in terra: quia si re-

Patria Presbiteri Iohannis.

Tangut populi, fortissimi.

Boues pilosis caudis: his similes sunt in Quiuera Americæ septentrionalis prouincia.

Tebet populi.

Auri abundantia.

poneret in arca vel in thesauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod est in terra. De istis hominibus vidi personas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos sed fuscos. Iugures sunt mediocris staturæ sicut nostri. Apud Iugures est fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Post Tebet sunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas plusquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur sex bobus. Isti sunt parui homines & fusci sicut Hispani: & habent tunicas sicut supertunicale diaconi manicis parum strictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras sicut episcopi. Sed pars anterior est parum interior quàm posterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: sed sunt quadræ desuper, & sunt de stramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium solis sicut speculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas bendas de eadem materia assutas ipsi mitræ; quæ se extendunt ad ventum sicut duo cornua egredientia de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iactat eas plicant eas per medium mitræ superius à tempore in tempus: & iacent sicut circulus ex transuerso capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, rasam multum: Et quandocunque loquebatur ipsi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, semper aspiciebat in illam tabulam, ac si inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec respiciebat ad dextram vel sinistram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nusquam respicit nisi in tabulam suam. Vltra istos sunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, sed nulla animalia sibi appropriant: tamen sunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipsorum, & nullus custodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, ascendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt se tractari quasi domestica. Et si nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipsi includunt eum in domo, & ministrant ei necessaria: donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia si iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur syluestria. Vltra est magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi panni serici. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione est oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In ista terra sunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis. Et inter*

Tangut homines magni sed fusci.

Langa & Solanga.

Solangi similes Hispanis, & fusci.

Tabula de dente elephantino.

Muc populi.

Magna Cathaya.

Aliqua desiderantur.

[p. 93] | The iournal of frier *William de Rubruquis* a French *man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the East* parts of the worlde. An. Dom. 1253.

TO his most Soueraigne, & most Christian Lord Lewis, by Gods grace the renowmed king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health & cõtinual triumph in CHRIST.

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4. It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill shall he trie in all things. The very same action (my lord and king) haue I atchieued: howbeit I wish that I haue done it like a wise man, and not like a foole. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare my selfe to be one. Notwithstanding howsoeuer I haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maiestie inioined me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want wordes and eloquence sufficient to write vnto so great a maiestie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your sacred Maiestie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, we entered into the sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the castle and porte of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, Gasaria: of the Greeks, which inhabite vpon the sea shore thereof, it is called Cassaria, that is to say Cæsaria. And there are certaine head lands stretching foorth into the sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are 300. miles of distance betweene Synopolis and Cassaria. Insomuch that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles also from thence to the East, namely to the countrey of Hiberia which is a prouince of Georgia. At

Gasaria. the prouince of Gasaria or Cassaria we arriued, which prouince is, in a maner, three square, hauing a citie on the West part thereof

called Kersoua, wherein S. Clement suffered martyrdome. And sayling before the said citie, we sawe an island, in which a Church is sayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midst of the said prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called Soldaia directly ouer against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countries, in their iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne homeward also from Russia, and the said Northerne regions, into Turkie. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furres, with other rich and costly skinnes. Others carrie cloathes made of cotton or bombast, and silke, and diuers kindes of spices. But vpon the East part of the said prouince standeth a citie called Matriga, where the riuer Tanais dischargeth his streames into the sea of Pontus, the mouth wherof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entreth into the sea of Pontus, maketh a little sea, which hath in breadth and length seuen hundreth miles, & it is in no place thereof aboue sixe paces deepe, whereupon great vessels cannot sayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Constantinople, arriuing at the foresayd citie of *Materta, send their barkes vnto the riuer of Tanais to buy dried fishes, Sturgeons, Thosses, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresayd prouince of Cassaria is compassed in with the sea on three sides thereof: namely on the West side, where Kersoua the citie of Saint Clement is situate: on the South side the citie of Soldaia whereat we arriued: on the East side Maricandis, and there stands the citie of Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais. Beyond the sayd mouth standeth Zikia, which is not in subiection vnto the Tartars: also the people called Sueui and Hiberi towards the East, who likewise are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Moreouer towards the South, standeth the citie of Trapesunda, which hath a gouernour proper to it selfe, named Guydo, being of the linage of the emperours of Constantinople, and is subiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subiection vnto them. Next vnto these lyeth the countrey of Vastacius, whose sonne is called Astar, of his grandfather by the mothers side, who is not in subiection. All the land from the mouth of Tanais Westward as farre as Danubius is vnder their iurisdiction. Yea beyond Danubius also, towards Constantinople, Valakia, which is the land of Assanus, and Bulgaria minor as farre as Solonia, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And besides the | tribute [p. 94]

Soldaia.

The citie of Matriga.

Zikia.

* Matriga.

imposed, they haue also, of late yeares, exacted of euery houshold an axe, and all such corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers merchants of Constantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine messengers were comming thither from the holy land, who were desirous to trauell vnto Sartach. Notwithstanding I my self had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within ye Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I trauailed vnto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the said merchãts admonished me to take diligent heede what I spake: because they hauing reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not haue free passage granted vnto me. Thẽ I spake after this maner vnto the gouernors of the citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenãts, because the gouernors thẽselues were gone to pay tribute vnto Baatu, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sartach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad therof, & especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth against the Saracens to redeeme the holy places out of their handes: wherfore I am determined to go vnto Sartach, & to deliuer vnto him ye letters of my lord the king, wherein he admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs enterteinement in the cathedrall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing so. Then put they vs to our choyce, whither we woulde haue cartes and oxen, or packe horses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople aduised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in) and to put all our carriages, which I would daylie take out, into them: because, if I should vse horses, I must be constrained at euery baite to take downe my carriages, and to lift them vp againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oxen drawing the cartes. Wherfore, contenting my selfe with their euil counsel, I was traueiling vnto Sartach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants aduised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free

passage: because they looke fauourablie vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of Iune, with fower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fiue persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my seruant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oxen and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almost haue their proper languages: amongst whom there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North, there is a most beautifull wood growing on a plaine ful of fountaines & freshets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fiue dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land, hauing sea on the East & West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made frō one sea vnto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foresayd cities and castles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the fore said prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were aliue, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the sayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the bankes whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soone as it entereth into the lake, becommeth hard salte like vnto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baatu and Sartach haue great reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia for salte: and for each carte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many

Frier Bartholomeus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

ships for salt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars. Amongst whome being entered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whose life and maners I wil describe vnto your Highnes aswell as I can.

The Tartars. [p. 95]

Of the *Tartars*, and of their houses. Chap. 2.

THey haue in no place any setled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestiall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themselues, which stretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the rising of the sunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumne. For in the winter they descend vnto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend vnto the colde regions northward. In winter when snowe lyeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon pastures without water, because then they vse snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the roofe whereof consisteth, (in like sorte) of wickers, meeting aboue into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth vpward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay morter or white earth vpon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured felt, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beastes thereupon. The sayd houses they make so large, that they conteine thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the house was vpon the carte, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fiue feete at the least. I told 22. oxen in one teame, drawing an house vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more before them: the axletree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, vpon the forestall of the carte driuing forth the oxen.

Moreouer, they make certaine fouresquare baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like wickers, and make a doore in the fore side thereof. And then they couer the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houshold stuffe & treasure. Also the same chests they do strongly bind vpon other carts, which are drawen with camels, to ye end they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their carts. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the carts laden with their chests, here & there, within half a stones cast of ye house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of carts, as it were, between two wals. The matrons make for thẽselues most beautiful carts, which I am not able to describe vnto your maiestie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baatu hath sixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the said houses do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the principal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwelleth vpon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their countries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oxen, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte driuing the oxen, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

The benefite of a painter in strange countreis.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. Chap. 3.

HAuing taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doores Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens

place is alwaies on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon y^e^ West side, namely at the right hand of their master. Men when they enter into the house, [p. 96] wil not in any case hang their quiuers on | the womens side. Ouer the masters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds feete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with wooll or some other matter, and neare vnto that a little image or puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the doore also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milk the kine. For it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the doore next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they sprinckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the masters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a seruant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke sprinckling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then perfourmeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: & lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, before he tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on horse backe, hee powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horse before hee himselfe drinketh. After the seruaunt aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the world, hee returneth into the house: and two other seruants stand ready with two cuppes, and two basons, to carrie drinke vnto their master and his wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath more wiues then one, she with whome hee slept the night before, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wiues must that day resorte vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes also which are presented that daye are layd vp in the chests of the sayd wife. And vpon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinking cuppes.

Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. Chap. 4.

IN winter time they make excellent drinke of Rise, of Mill, and of honie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwaies within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it stands a minstrell with his fidle. I sawe there no such citerns and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not vsed among vs. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants cryeth out with a lowde voice HA, and the minstrell playes vpon his fidle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyse of musique, the men before their master and the women before their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as before, and the minstrell stayeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victory very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing before him. Moreouer when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, still singing and dauncing before him: and when he stretcheth foorth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, singing and dauncing and stamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinking.

They vse the like custome in Florida.

Of their foode and victuals. Chap. 5.

CONcerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highnesse that they do, without al difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mares milke

lasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an oxe or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without salt, and also without stenche or corruption. They | make better puddings of their horses then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserue vntill winter. They make of their oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their horse hides they make very fine sandals & pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the flesh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with salt and water (other sauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the same purpose (such as wee vse to take rosted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of guestes. The master of the house, before the rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the company a speciall part, the receiuer therof must eat it alone, and must not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, he caries it with him, or deliuers it vnto his boy, if he be present, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square buget, which they vse to cary about with them for the sauing of all such prouision, and wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

Drying of flesh in the wind.

[p. 97]

How they make their drinke called *Cosmos*.

Chap. 6.

THeir drinke called Cosmos, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They fasten a long line vnto 2. posts standing firmely in the ground, & vnto the same line they tie the young foles of those mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to stand by their foles gently suffering themselues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her fole, & puts it vnder her, letting it suck a while, and presently carying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of

wood made for the purpose, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be sower and sharp of taste, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the wine of raspes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of almon milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braines: also it causeth vrine to be auoided in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say black Cosmos, for great lords to drink, they make on this maner. First they beat the said milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whay or white must. The said lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke: and in very deed it is marueilous sweete and holesome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him dayly with the Caracosmos of an hundreth mares milk, and so all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, besides white milke which other of his subiects bring. For euen as the husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruicts and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen so doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of their cowes milke they first churne butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams skinnes, which they reserue for the same purpose. Neither doe they salte their butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for winter. The churnmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in sachels against winter. In the winter season when milke faileth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they cal Gry-vt) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they have resolued it into the said water, which is thereby made exceedingly sowre, and that they drinke in stead of milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it selfe.

Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. Chap. 7.

GReat lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poorer sort prouide themselues of such necessaries, for y^e^ exchange of rams, & of other beasts skins. The Tartars slaues fil their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate mise with long tailes, nor any kinde of mise with short tailes. They haue also certaine litle beasts called by thē Sogur, which lie in a caue | twenty or thirty of them [p. 98] together, al the whole winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies hauing long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outside of their tailes grow blacke & white haires. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, & but a fewe hares, but a great nũber of Roes. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast called Artak, hauing in al resemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift up a paire of them with one hand: & of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Girfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they cary vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to y^e^ midst of their gorges, by the which string, whē they cast them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire be it knowen vnto your Maiestie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them stuffes of silke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Pascatir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which are Northerne regions & full of woods) & also out of many other countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sortes (which I neuer saw in our countries) wherewithal they are clad in winter. And alwaies against winter they make themselues two gownes, one

Our falconers vse the left fist. Another stráge custome, which I leaue to be scanned by falconers themselues.

with the fur inward to their skin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & snow, which for the most part are made of woolues skins, or Fox skins, or els of Papions. And whẽ they sit within the house, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle & litle they approch on al sides, til they haue gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, & then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make thẽselues breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gowns with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, & warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cottõ cloth which is made of the finest wooll they can pick out, & of the courser part of the said wool, they make felt to couer their houses and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wool, being mixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt couerings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Great expense of wooll.

Of the fashion which the *Tartars* vse in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women.

Chap. 8.

THe men shaue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shaue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shaue also their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they shaue the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somwhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is maried, shee shaues her scalpe from the middest of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nuns hood, being open before

and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For herein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads which they call Botta, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thicknes & roundnes therof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a square sharp spire rising frō the top therof, being more then a cubite in length, & fashioned like vnto a pinacle. The said Botta they couer al ouer with a piece of rich silke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the midst of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quils or of slender canes a cubite long and more: & the sayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al y^e^ length therof, with the feathers of a Malards taile, & with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or coyfe, which hath
[p. 99] an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to | come through it: & vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together frō the hinder part therof to the crowne, & so lap them vp in a knot or bundel within the said Botta, which afterward they bind strongly vnder their throtes. Hereupon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld afar off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the said Botta appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. Al their women sit on horsebacke bestriding their horses like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their wastes with a skie coloured silke skarfe, & with another skarfe they girde it aboue their breasts: & they bind also a piece of white silke like a mufler or maske vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breast. These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube ouer their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of the dueties inioined vnto the *Tartarian* women, and of their labours, and also of their mariages.

Chap. 9.

THe duties of women are, to driue carts, to lay their houses vpon carts & to take them downe again: to milke kine:

to make butter & Gry-vt: to dresse skins & to sow them, which they vsually sowe with thread made of sinewes, for they diuide sinewes into slender threads, & then twine thē into one long thread. They make sandals & socks & other garments. Howbeit they neuer wash any apparel: for they say that God is then angry, & that dreadful thunder wil ensue, if washed garmēts be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat such as wash, & take their garments frō them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, & then wrapping thēselues in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpast. They neuer wash their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, & then powre the said broth into the pot againe. They make felte also, & couer their houses therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, stirrops, bridles, and saddles: to build houses & carts, to keepe horses: to milke mares: to churne Cosmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels also & lay burthens vpon them. As for sheepe & goates they tend and milke them, aswell the men as the women. With sheeps milke thicked & salted they dresse and tan their hides. When they wil wash their hands or their heads, they fil their mouthes full of water, & spouting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinckle their haire & wash their heades therwith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderstand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon sometimes their maids are very stale before they be maried, for their parents alwaies keepe thē till they can sel them. They keepe the first and second degrees of consanguinitie inuiolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by succession, two sisters. Their widowes marie not at al, for this reason: because they beleeue, that al who haue serued them in this life, shall do them seruice in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that euery widow after death shal returne vnto her own husband. And herehence ariseth an abominable & filthy custome among them, namely that the sonne marieth sometimes all his fathers wiues except his own mother: For the court or house of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the yonger son. Whereupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, because they are part of his inheritance aswel as his fathers possessions. And then if he will he vseth them for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or disparagement vnto himselfe, although they returne vnto

his father after death. Therfore whē any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth vnto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father vnto the bridegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her wheresoeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her hee must take her by force and cary her, as it were, violently vnto his owne house.

Of their execution of iustice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. Chap. 10.

COncerning their lawes or their execution of iustice, your Maiesty is to be aduertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne sonne. But he that goes by the worst must appeale vnto the court of his lord. And whosoeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must go presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the iniury, carieth him, as it were captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deede doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him vnto extreme torture to make him confesse the trueth. They punish murther with death, and carnall copulation also with any [p. 100] | other besides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid seruant, for he may vse his slaue as he listeth himself. Heinous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if yᵉ executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must haue an 100. staues, namely for such as are beaten vpon sentēce giuen in the court. Also counterfeit messengers, because they feine themselues to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like maner (of which kind of malefactors your Maiesty shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle most pitifully for him: & the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosoeuer is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after.

Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the stock of Chingis, who was their first lord & father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is vnknowen. And alwayes about those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they vse to hide treasures in the graues of their dead. The Comaniãs build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect also vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, litle sharpe houses or pinacles: & in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp 16. horse hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high posts: & they set besides his graue Cosmos for him to drink, & flesh to eat: & yet they sayd that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East: namely large flowres or pauemẽts made of stone, some roũd & some square, & then 4. long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, & causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke party but his seruant only. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint watchmen to stand round about the said court, who wil not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare lest euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Of our first entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude. Chap. 11.

AND being come amõgst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) y^t^ I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse back, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them heretofore, or no? And giuing thẽ answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals frõ us. And we gaue them some of our bisket & wine,

which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flagon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a litle. Then they asked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maiesties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent? I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my selfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties ambassador. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or siluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach? I answered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same prouince one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperor of Constantinople had written letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs horses & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foresayd necessaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their yong brats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our seruants, as their kniues, gloues, purses, & points, and desiring to haue them.
[p. 101] I excused my self that | we had a long way to trauel, & that we must in no wise so soon depriue our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force frō me: howbeit they wil beg that which they see very importunatly & shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought vpon thē, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme thēselues lords & think yᵗ nothing should be denied thē by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward stands in neede of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drink after yᵉ butter was cherned out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from thē. And in very deed it seemed to me yᵗ we were escaped out of the hands of diuels.

On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherin we departed frõ Soldaia till we arriued at the court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in house or tent, but alwaies vnder the starry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mention of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The same evening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof I sweat most extreamly for the nouelty and strangenes, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very sauory, as indeed it was.

Of the court of *Scacatai*: and how the Christians drinke no *Cosmos*. Chap. 12.

ON the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wõdered also at the great multitude of huge droues of oxen, & horses, and at the flockes of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: wherupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the seruant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat vnto Scacatay: & so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houses nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, & we yeelded vnto his request. Also he required of vs some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings vnto his master. Howbeit we excused our selues as well as wee could. Then he asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord? And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with bisket, & a platter with apples and other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnes. He sate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, hauing annointed the very same place with a black

ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most vgly in our eies. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stoode vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were wel forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should neuer varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gifte of our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold. or siluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperor of Constantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the Greeke tongue. He asked vs also whether we would drink any Cosmos, that is to say mares milke? (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, wil in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselues no Christians after they haue once drunke of it, & their priests reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renounced the Christian faith.) I gaue him answere, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we must be constrained to drink such as should be giuen vnto vs. He enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Maiestie sent vnto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed vp, and that there was nothing conteined in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sartach? I answered: the words of Christian faith. He asked again what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare thē. Then [p. 102] I expoũded vnto him as well as I | could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of speech) the Apostles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned vnto vs two men, who shoulde giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our horses, and vpon our Oxen. And hee caused vs to ride in his companie, till the messenger whome hee had sent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And so we traueiled in his companie till the morowe after Pentecost.

A caueat right worthy the noting.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitson euen. Chap. 13.

VPon the euen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called *Acias, being Christians after the maner of the Grecians, vsing greeke bookes and Grecian priests: howbeit they are not schismatiques as the Grecians are, but without acceptiõ of persons, they honour al Christiãs. And they brought vnto vs sodden flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I sayd, because it was the euen of so great and so solemne a feast day, that we would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the solemnitie of the sayd feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian religion, except only the name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrained to drinke Cosmos, & to eate the dead carkases of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other infidels? Which euen the Greeke & Russian priests themselues also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto idoles: because they were ignorant of the times of fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowen them. Then instructed I them aswell as I could and strengthened them in the faith. As for the flesh which they had brought we reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for gold & siluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of marchandise wee had none at all. When our seruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very sowre & filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine bisket, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

Cloth is the chiefe marchãdise in Tartarie.

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* Or, Akas.

Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to be lepers.

Chap. 14.

VPon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Christian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Sauiour Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) sayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our selues to the baptizing of him, he suddenly mounted on horsebacke, saying that he would goe home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor he could not liue in that desert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much estranged from the Christian faith by reason of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacatay the captaine aforesayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was distant from that place fiue dayes iourney for oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had passed through one of hell gates. The seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by their theeuery, harme taught vs wisdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea vnto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was situate. Into the which, so sooue as we had entred, al the inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with leprosie: for certain base fellowes were placed there to receiue tribute of al such as tooke salt out of the salt pits aforesaid. From that place | they told vs that we must trauel fifteen daies iourney, before we shuld find any other people. With

Salt pits.

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them wee dranke Cosmos, and gaue vnto them a basket full of fruites and of bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine vs in so great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And so changing our oxen, we tooke our iournie which we finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleys, except two small riuers. And from the time wherein we departed out of the foresaid prouince of Gasaria, we trauailed directly Eastward, hauing a Sea on the South side of vs, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty daies iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it selfe Valania. But Isidore calleth all that tract of land stretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Męotis, and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride poste as fast as the Tartars vse to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the space betweene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauailed in ten dayes. To the North of the same prouince lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene wasted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Russia.

Of our afflictions which we sustained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. Chap. 15.

THey preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde nor siluer, they driue them and their children like flockes of sheepe into the wildernes, constraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Russia lieth the countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Ierusalem haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede they might easily winne Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once knowe,

Prussia.

that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the ensigne of the crosse to bee displaied against them, they would flee all into their desert and solitarie places. We therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but heauen and earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the desert, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I susteined, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expenses would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our waifaring prouision, for the Tartars seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selues were fiue in number, and the seruants our guides were three, two to driue our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sartach. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate vnder our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatsoeuer things we had. Hauing list at any time to ease themselues, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdrawe themselues farther from vs, then a beane can bee cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it was which he saide, For I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a litle smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolued much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traueiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Asia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Ægypt disioyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where wee arriued, Baatu

Extreme heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

and Sartach did cause a certaine cot|tage to be built, vpon the Easterne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Russians to dwell in to the ende they might transport Ambassadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. First they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one lyter, and the other wheele into another lyter, hauing bounde both the lyters together, and so they rowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foole most extreamely. For hee imagining that the said Russians, dwelling in the cottage, should haue prouided vs horses, sent home the beasts which we brought with vs, in another cart, yᵗ they might returne vnto their owne masters. And when we demanded to haue some beasts of thē, they answered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, wherby they were bound to none other seruice, but only to ferry ouer goers & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We staied therfore by the said riuers side three daies. The first day they gaue vnto vs a great fresh turbut: the second day they bestowed rye bread, and a litle flesh vpon vs, which the purueyer of the village had taken vp at euerie house for vs: and the third day dried fishes, which they haue there in great abundance. The saide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And before we came there, we passed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fish, except it be so great, that they may pray vpon the flesh therof, as vpon the flesh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the East part of Russia, and it springeth out of the fennes of Mæotis, which fennes stretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great sea 700. miles about, before it falleth into the sea called Pōtus Euxinus. And al the riuers, which we passed ouer, ran with ful stream into those quarters. The foresaid riuer hath great store of wood also growing vpon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars ascend no farther vnto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage somwhat lower, where passengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were driuen to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither horses, nor oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent vs oxen & men; howbeit we our selues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat prospereth not wel in that

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The breadth of Tanais.

He is much deceiued.

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

soile. They haue the seed of Millium in great abundance. The Russian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imbroder their safegards or gowns on the outside, from their feet vnto their knees with particoloured or grey stuffe. The Russian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Also they weare vpon their heads certain sharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a sugar loafe. Then traueiled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our selues and our oxen were exceeding weary and faint, not knowing how far off we should find any Tartars, on the sudden, there came two horses running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpreter mounted vpon their backes, to see, how far off they could descry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found some inhabitants, we reioyced like sea-faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous tempest, and had newly recouered the hauen. Then hauing taken fresh horses, and oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, vpon the second of the Kalends of August, we arriued at the habitation of Duke Sartach himselfe.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subiects.

Chap. 16.

THe region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing store of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two sorts of people do inhabite. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in y^e^ woods. Their lord & a great part of themselues were put to the sword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he must prouide things necessary for him, with whom he is first of all enterteined, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her husband, vnles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not ielous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great store of hony & waxe, and diuers sorts of rich and costly skins, and plentie of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines call Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is y^e^ mightiest riuer that euer I saw. And it issueth from

The people of Moxel are Pagans.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certain lake cõtaining in circuit the space of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will speak hereafter. The two foresaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwise called Volga, towards the Northern regions through the which we traueiled, are not distãt asunder aboue x. daies iourney, | but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For Tanais descẽdeth into the sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid sea or lake, with the help of many other riuers which fal therinto out of Persia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountains, vpon the sides wherof, towards the said desert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, & wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond thẽ, next vnto the sea or lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your maiestie shall vnderstand more about the end of this Treatise: for I trauailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid riuers, in the regions through the which we passed did the Comanians of olde time inhabite, before they were ouerrun by the Tartars.

The circuite of the Caspian sea.

[p. 105]

Kergis or Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. Chap. 17.

AND we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had sixe wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, & they haue ech one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lordes gate. For so they call him, who hath the office of enterteining Ambassadours. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would present him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he saw that we had nothing ready to present. We stoode before him, and he sate maiestically, hauing musicke and dauncing in his presence. Then I spake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpose I was come vnto his lorde, and requesting so much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters

Coiat the Nestorian.

vnto the sight of his Lord. I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vsing any golde, or siluer, or any other precious thing, saue onely our bookes, and the vestiments wherein wee serued God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then hee answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well: for so I should obserue my vowe: neither did himselfe stand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to bestow vpon vs such things as we our selues stood in neede of: and he caused vs to sit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And presently after he requested vs to say our deuotions for him: and we did so. He enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franckes? And I saide, the Emperour, if he could inioy his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he sawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morow we sent him a flagon of Muscadel wine (which had lasted very wel in so long a iourney) and a boxe full of bisket, which was most acceptable vnto him. And he kept our seruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my vestimentes, and bookes with me: because his Lorde was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestiments, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestiments to bee laide forth. And there stoode round about vs many Tartars, Christians and Saracens on horseback. At the sight whereof, he demanded whether I would bestow all those things vpon his Lord or no? Which saying made me to tremble, and grieued me full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lorde your master would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruits, not as a present, because it is too meane, but as a benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And he shall see the letters of my souereigne Lord the king, and by them he shall vnderstand for what cause we are come vnto him, and then both our selues, and all that we haue, shall stand to his curtesie: for our vestiments be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commaunded vs to inuest our selues in the saide garments, that we

might goe before his Lord: and wee did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Maiesty gaue me, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the clearke hauing put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so wee came vnto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the felt hanging before his doore, that hee might | behold vs. Then they caused the [p. 106] clearke and the interpreter thrise to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing Salue Regina. And within the entrance of the doore, stood a bench with cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiues were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich Tartars thrusting in with vs pressed vs sore. Then Coiat caried vnto his lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his wife also that sate beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians & the Armenians do neuer make the figure of Christ vpõ their crosses. Wherfore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maiesties letters, with the translation therof into the Arabike, & Syriake languages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the saide tongues. And there were certain Armenian priests, which had skil in the Turkish & Arabian languages. The aforesaid knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, & caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and fruits to be receiued. And he permitted vs also to carie our vestiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. Chap. 18.

THe next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Priest, who was brother vnto Coiat, requesting to haue our boxe of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About euentide Coiat sent for vs, saying: My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficulty in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduise and counsell of his father. And therfore of necessitie you must depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yesterday with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lorde is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his couetousnes, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other carts also, which we haue in our possession, will we commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I answered: If you throughly vnderstand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with vs, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would have rendred a reason, he answered: be not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I sawe that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no accesse vnto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iustice. I was afraide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other

things then I saide vnto him: for his will was good that we should have giuen away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soueraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poste-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiat. Then Coiat commaun|ded, that we should [p. 107] leaue them and our seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so traueling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not bee called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars wil be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians. Chap. 19.

AT the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northren regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diuiner or soothsayer. All diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade also in the historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay. Kara signifieth

This history of Presbiter Iohn in the North-east, is alleadged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall mappe.

From whence the Turkes first sprang.

blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference between the foresaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eastward ouer against ye Ocean sea: concerning whom your maiesty shall vnderstand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I trauailed. And in a certain plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselues are no Christians. So likewise there went foorth a great report concerning the said king Iohn. Howbeit, when I trauailed along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being distant from his brother Iohn, the space of three weekes iourney. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people also for his subiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, reteining with him Priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of deuils and sorcerers. Beyond his pastures some tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king Iohn died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vut was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his droues and flockes raunged euen vnto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smith among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as

An Ocean sea.

Nayman.

Presbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his aboade.

Vut Can, or Vnc Can.

The village of Cara Carum.

Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde time a beggerly people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

many cattel from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vut complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an armie, and marched vp into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongest them. And Vut hauing taken some spoiles both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly vpon Vut, and ouercame him, and Vut fledde into Cataya. At the same time was the daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis | married vnto one of his sonnes, by whom she conceiued, [p. 108] & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent ye Tartars before him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people woulde crie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indeuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the region, about which Mancherule. they haue obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. Chap. 20.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether he beleeues in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian

Priestes, who pray vpon their beades, and sing their deuotions.
Or, Berca. Also, there is another vnder Baatu called Berta, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of Volga: for hee was vnwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berta, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sartach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, wee traueiled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians being seruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whomesoeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tired their horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other horses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraide, least we should haue met with such companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they cal the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing vpon the shore thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the South side thereof: and the mountaines of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people
Changlæ. called Changlæ. And on that side it receiueth the streams of Etilia; which riuer increaseth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Ægypt. Upon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the

mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the mountaines, but on the North side with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney traueiled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is inuironed on all sides with lande.

Frier Andrew.

Of the court of *Baatu*: and howe we were interteined by him. Chap. 21.

[p. 109]

ALL the region extending from the West shore of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the city of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along by the fennes of Męotis, whereinto the riuer of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which countrey Isidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is true, as I vnderstand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towardes the North Ocean they make their dogges to draw in carts like oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of Etilia where we arriued, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport messengers going and comming to and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Sommer time more Northward then the foresaide place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From Ianuarie vntill August both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northerly regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therefore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage vnto his court. From the same place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is fiue dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Persia, it is aboue 30. daies iourney to passe ouerthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid

The North Ocean.

The North Ocean.

He descendeth downe the riuer Volga in a barke.

countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Etilia falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the dānable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first beheld the court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his houses or tents seemed as though they had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Israel knew euery man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off the cart. Wherupon the court is called in their language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the gouernour or chieftaine among them dwels alwaies in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that region the court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend thēselues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the court. At our arriual we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baatu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not containe so many men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished vs not to speake, till Baatu had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadours vnto him or no? I answered, that your Maiestie had sent messengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not haue sent messengers vnto him, or letters vnto Sartach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pauilion: and wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stoode in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier Iohn de Plano Carpini had byn there before my cōming: howbeit, because he was the Popes messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be contemned. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of vs to do any reuerence

Astracan.

The description of Baatu his court.

Horda signifieth the midst.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate vpon a seate long and broad like vnto a bed, guilt all ouer, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the wiues of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent, stoode a bench furnished with cosmos, and with stately great cuppes of siluer, and golde, beeing richly set with precious stones. Baatu beheld vs earnestly, and we him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Mon|sieur Iohn [p. 110] de beau mont, whose soule resteth in peace. And hee had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to speake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that wee should bow our knees & speak. Wherupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loath to contend about such circumstaunces. And again he commanded me to speak. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you these earthly benefites, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauẽly blessings: because the former without these are but vain and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowen vnto you of a certainty, that you shal not obtain the ioyes of heauen, vnles you become a Christian: for God saith, Whosoeuer beleeueth & is baptized, shalbe saued: but he that beleeueth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my silly interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himself abashed & vtterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my souereigne Lord the king of France: and your sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best known vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your maiesties name, and my name, and the name of mine associate and interpreter, and caused them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewise (because he had bene

The letters of the French king.

informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the house of God at Ierusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnes had euer before that time sent any messengers vnto him, or no? To you sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his own house. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euill vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, saide vnto me: Your master the King requesteth that you may remaine in this land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Moreouer I my selfe saide, that without mine associate I coulde not goe: and that we stood in neede of two seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sicke, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told these sayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded saying: let the two Priests and the interpreter goe together, but let the clearke returne vnto Sartach. And comming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the clearke to haue had him with vs, he saide: No more words: for Baatu hath resolued, that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any more. Goset the clearke had remaining of the almes money bestowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no more; 10. whereof he kept for himselfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our selues remaining still in the same place.

Of our iourney towards the Court of Mangu Can. Chap. 22.

VPon Assumption euen our clearke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priestes were adorned with our vestments in the presence of the saide Sartach. Then wee our selues were conducted vnto anōther hoste, who was appointed to prouide vs houseroome, victualles, and horses. But because wee had not ought to bestowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, descending along by the banke of Etilia, for the space of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine associate was so extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from vs that we could | not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Cleargie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accompted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the funerals of his deceased countrey men. There was another of them also pretily wel instructed in his Grammer: for hee could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that wee spake, but could not answere vs. These Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a breuiarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I saide vnto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of salutation? Hee saide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them hee learned it. He saide moreouer, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the estate of our order. Afterwarde I sawe Baatu riding with his companie, and all his

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of Etilia.

[p. III]

Hungarians.

A Comanian.

subiects that were housholders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not fiue hundred persons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you vnto Mangu-Can, and wee haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe euen riue asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whome I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shalbe able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon anie businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherfore sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he saide: all shalbe well. Afterward he caused vs to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoeuer hee deemed to be lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the custodie of our hoste. On the morrow they brought vnto ech of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes skinnes, with the wool stil vpon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also or buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skinnes after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eastward, till the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Vpon the North side of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

A iourney of 4. moneths from Volga.

The 16. of September.

46. dayes.

Or, Kangittæ.

Of the riuer of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. Chap. 23.

Or, Iaic.

Iaic twelue dayes iourney from Volga. Pascatir.

HAuing traueiled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuer called Iagac: which riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descēdeth into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their countrey bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the Northeast part of the said countrey,

there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest countrey that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they trauersed the impregnable walles and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucasus, serued to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paied vnto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all countreis euen vnto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themselues. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreouer, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (sauing the pronũciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of thē called Ilac (both these, & the other) in ye languages of the Russians, ye Polonians, & the Bohemians. | The Sclauonians speake all one language [p. 112] with the Vandals, all which banded themselues with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they vnite themselues vnto the Tartars: whõ God hath raised vp from the vtmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophecie is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, vpon all nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which trauailed thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proued Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be known out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those prouinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, vntill the feast of All Saints: traueiling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twise or thrise in

The Hungarians descended from the Bascirdes.

Valachians.

Deut. 32. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine countrey.

a day. Sometimes we trauailed two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best horses before vs. They prouided mee alwaies of a strong horse, because I was very corpulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But euery man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments vpon other emptie horses: yea and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horse.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our iourney. Chap. 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were maruellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained fasting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of fewel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneis end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horses or oxē: for other fewel we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise vpon the bankes of some riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid Chingis,

Certaine riuers.

who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and dispersed ouer that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they marueiled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor siluer, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired likewise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, & horses or no? Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not cõceiue of it, because it was without limits or banks. Vpon the euen of y^e^ feast of Al Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: these did our guide & his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes were two swift for them. Vpon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, subiect vnto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went vpon the yce in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a strange territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same prouince. And there descended a great riuer downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers chanels and sluces: neither did this riuer exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and dranke of the wine thereof.

Eight dayes iourney southward.

Asses swift of foote.

High mountaines.

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Manured grounds.

Kenchat a village of the Saracens.

The 7. day of Nouember.

A great riuer.

Many lakes.

Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. Chap. 25.

A cottage.

The moũtains of Caucasus are extended vnto the Easterne Sea.

The citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.

Frier Andrew.

THe day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderstood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, & continued on both parts to the sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea, wherinto the riuer of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen seruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sartach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & master Ban was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kinred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Etilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within three dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced

The village of Bolac.

before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe affoord eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiuing the messengers of Baatu in maner aforesaide: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people of Baatu are more surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie vnto the subiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were woont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuer: insomuch that wee were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fifteene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Vpon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might | feede their [p. 114] cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts vsed the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it knowen vnto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.

He entreth into the territories of Mangu-Can.

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mighty riuer.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

A lake of fifteene dayes iourney in compasse.

Cailac a great citie, and full of merchants.

Contomanni.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioyned together. Chap. 26.

The people called Iugures idolaters.

THe first sort of these idolaters are called Iugures: whose land bordereth vpon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in al their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of y^e^ foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man hauing a crosse painted with ink vpō his hand, wherupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto al questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image of Iesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was vnto them in steed of an altar, whereupon they set candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saint Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That euening I could not find any thing els. For the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke vp mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said citie of Cailac doe curteously inuite, & louingly intertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselues, and offer vp the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselues on their knees vpon y^e^ earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case ioyne their hands together in time of

prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and vpon the North side they build a chamber, in maner of a Vestry for themselues to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side therof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the saide chest towardes the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracarum, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saint Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Catay, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes, that it may be seen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principal idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They haue also great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great belles. Notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Grecians of Gasaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue themselues in worshipping their false gods.

Chap. 27.

ALl their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they lead an vnmaried life from that time forward: and they liue an hundreth or two hundreth of them together in one cloister or couent. Vpon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long foormes therein: and so sitting vpon the sayd foormes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the foormes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all siting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speach, and yet could not by

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Bookes.

any means possible. They haue with them also whithersoeuer they goe, a certaine string with an hundreth or two hundreth nutshels thereupon, much like to our bead-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes vtter these words: *Ou mam Hactani*, God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, aboue all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles. These rites and ceremonies aforesayd be common vnto all idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portal. And those which I sawe, seemed vnto me, by their shauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The priestes of the foresaide Iugures doe vse such attire whithersoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their saffron coloured iackets, which be very straight being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left shoulder descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carying the houssel-boxe in time of lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their magical practises. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the anncient custome, and lay vp the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresaid priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they answered: We beleeue that there is onely one God. And I demaunded farther: Whether do you beleue that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance? They saide: We beleeue that he is a spirite. Then said I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him? They answered: Noe. And

Paper. So do the people of China vse to write, drawing their lines perpē-dicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the lefte.

againe I saide: Sithence ye beleeue that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily images to represent him? Sithence also you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered saying: we frame not those images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memory. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule? They said, in our bodies. Then saide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remẽbrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fiue most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These soothsayers or diuiners do alwaies attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie piller went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched, and first of al they take down their | owne houses: & after them the whole [p. 116] court doth the like. Also vpon their festiual daies or kalends they take forth the foresayd images, and place them in order round, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. Chap. 28.

BVt the foresayd Iugures (who liue among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleeue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto Chingis Can: whereupon he gaue his daughter in mariage vnto their king. Also the citie of Caracarum it selfe is in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vut lyeth neere vnto their dominions: sauing, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towardes the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: & al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next vnto them, between the foresaid mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league hee was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut haue oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto horses, and with long shagge haire vpon their backes and bellyes. They haue legges greater then other oxen haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oxen drawe the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnles they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in red, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Tebet, men which were wont to eate the carkases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithstanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the skuls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Tebet haue great plentie of golde in their land.

The countrey of Presbiter Iohn.

Tangut.

Strange oxen.

The people of Tebet.

Abundance of golde.

Whosoeuer therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, he layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storehouse, hee is of opinion that God would withholde from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle stature like vnto our French men. Amongst the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawen with sixe oxen. They be little browne men like vnto Spaniards. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper vestment of a deacon, sauing that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of strawe which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like vnto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foresayd matter fastened vnto their miters, which houer in the wind, as if two long hornes grewe out of their heads. And when the winde tosseth them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midst of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer their principal messenger comming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoeuer hee spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the lefte, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, he looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond thẽ (as I vnderstand of a certainty) there are other | people called Muc, [p. 117] hauing villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding there are many flockes and droues of cattell in their countrey, & no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth vp vnto an hill, and there maketh a shout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyse,

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of elephants tooth.

The people called Muc.

come flocking about him, and suffer themselues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their countrie, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse be dispatched. For if anie stranger should trauell through that countrie, the cattell would flee away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the same countrey. I was crediblie informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne hauing walles of siluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued vnto the Tartars. And amongst*

Great Cathaya.

Somewhat is wanting.

NOTES.

§ 1. Extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Lambarde and Bede. pp. 1—4.

The page numbers in the middle of the text, in square brackets, refer to Hakluyt's original edition: the page and line numbers in the margins refer to the present volume.

[p. 1]

p. 1 l. 13

1. *Anno Christi* 517, etc.: the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Book IX. ch. 10, both in the Heidelberg edition of 1587, p. 67, from which Hak. cites, in the Oxford edition (ed. Giles, 1844) and in that of Halle (ed. A. Schulz, 1854), does not give the first line of Hak.'s quotation, *Anno Christi...anno*, which appears to be a gratuitous addition of the Elizabethan compiler; but begins *adveniente...sequenti aestate...subiugatis itaque totius Hiberniae.* See the text of Geoffrey, ed. Commelin, on pp. 1—92 of the *Rerum Britannicarum... Scriptores*, Heidelberg, 1587; this was the second printed edition; the first was brought out at Paris in 1508 and edited by Ascensius and Cavellatus.

For *Gotlandiae* Heidelberg reads *Godlandiae*; Halle, *Gothlandiae.*

For *Gunfacius* Heidelb., p. 67, and Halle, read *Gunfasius.*

See the notes in the Halle edition, p. 382, which notices the forms *Gimnasius*, *Grynvas*, *Gonvals*, etc.

p. 2 l. 8

2. *Missis deinde...Legatis* etc.: Hak. here transcribes with even more than his usual carelessness. Heidelb. reads (pp. 69—70) *Hiberniae* for *Hyberniae*; *Godlandiae* for *Gotlandiae*; *Gunuasius* for *Gunnasius*; *Orcadum* for *Orchadum*; *Norwegiae* for *Norvegiae*; *Dacorum* for *Danorum.*

See the notes to Geoffrey IX. 12, on pp. 388, 391, 392 of the Halle edition, which notices the forms *Islont*; *Doldav*, *Dolvan*, *Doldonius*; *Godland*, *Ysgottlant*, *Gelandia*; *Guillamurius*, *Gillomanius*; *Aschillius*, *Acilius*, *Achel*, *Ethel*; etc.

3. *At reges*, etc.:

l. 23

Much the same variants occur here in Heidelb. p. 73 (*Geoffrey* text, Book IX. ch. 19) e.g. *Hiberniae* for *Hyberniae*, *Godlandiae* for *Gotlandiae*, *Norwegiae* for *Norvegiae*, etc. Halle (p. 396) notes the forms *Iverdon*, *Ork*, *Islont*, *Ysgotlont*, etc., as before. It is curious that Hak. should have begun his great collection with Geoffrey's and Lambarde's legends, when we remember that he attempted rigorously to exclude from the final edition of the *Principal Navigations* anything that seemed (like David Ingram's narrative of his American wanderings after Hawkins' disaster at S. Juan d'Ulua) to be even in part untrustworthy and exaggerated. From the first Geoffrey's fabrications had been denounced (as by William of Newbury), but Hak. swallows the whole.

[p. 2]

p. 3 l. 3 **4.** *M. Lambard his* 'Αρχαιονομία: Hak.'s citation from William Lambarde's 'Αρχαιονόμια *sive de priscis Anglorum legibus* (London, 1568) fol. 137 (verso; i.e. Hak.'s *pag.* 2) differs from the text he copies, in reading, e.g. *Britanniae* for *Brytanniae*; *Britonum* for *Brytonum*; *Suechordam* for *Snechordam* (Hak.'s *Sweueland*; see his version below); *Cherelam* for *Cherrelam*; *multas insulas* for *mas alias inss*; omits a sentence after *Norweia vocatur*, viz. *Fuerunt gentes ferae...omne malum*, before *Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani*, etc.; omits *per* before *coniugia* etc.

In Lambarde this passage is headed *De iure et appendiciis coronae regni Brytanniae* and professes to be an extract from the *Leges Regis Edouardi, quas Gulielmus Bastardus postea confirmavit* ('Αρχαιονόμια, from fol. 126 verso to end of vol., at fol. 141 verso). The words *propinquus noster*, not translated by Hak., are therefore William the Conqueror's supposed reference to his predecessor. In the translation, the words *These people were wild... commeth from the North* are translated from Lambarde's original text. They are not in Hak.'s Latin. It is astonishing that Hak. can have taken this passage of the 'Αρχαιονόμια seriously.

[p. 3]

p. 5 l. 7 **5.** *Vortiporio...Malgo*: here, in its text of Geoffrey XI. 7, Heidelb. p. 84 reads (with Halle) *cui* for *Vortiporio* [successit]; *comprouinciales* for *conprouinciales*; *Hiberniam* for *Hybherniam* (here Halle agrees with Hak.); *Godlandiam* for *Gotlandiam*; *Norwegiam* for *Noruegiam*.

On *Malgo* (Maelgwyn Gwynedd) see the note pp. 436—8 in Halle edition, which notices the forms *Malvus*, *Mailgo*. In Gildas, *Epistle*, §§ 7—9, it is *Maglocuna* or *Maglocune*; in Nennius, *History of the Britons*, ch. 62, *Mailcunus*. The historical element is greater in Malgo than in Arthur or most of the British heroes: Maelgwyn, son of Cadwallon, Prince of Gwynedd or North Wales, traditionally reigned 517—547; he is bitterly reproached by Gildas for his sins, but his prowess in arms is admitted. *Denmarke* is for *Daciam*.

l. 29 **6.** *Eduinus* etc.: after *Eduinus* Hak. omits *rex*; the omitted word appears in Heidelb., 1587, p. 180, as in other editions. For *Cantuarios* Heidelb. reads *Cantuariis*; for *Menauias*, *Meuanias*; for *potestati*, *imperio*; in all these readings, Hak. is not supported by the best MSS., which agree with Heidelb. Cf. Plummer's text of Bede II. 5 (*Bedae Opera Historica*, Oxford, 1896, vol. I. p. 89) where also *Eduini* is read for *Eduinus*; *Nordanhymbrorum* for *Nordanhumbrorum*; *Humbre* for *Humbri*; *Brittaniam* for *Britanniam*; *Brettonum* for *Britonum*. On the subject-matter cf. Plummer's notes, II. 86; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, I. 49, 50; Sigebert of Gemblours, *ad ann.* 628; Alcuin, *De Sanctis Ebor.*, ll. 120—124. Anglesey is usually supposed to take this name from Eadwine's conquest here recorded: for *Meuanias insulas* certainly refer to Anglesey and Man.

p. 6 l. 12 **7.** *Anno...sexcentesimo vicesimo*, etc.: in this citation of Bede II. 9, Hak.'s date is in the original text merely *quo tempore etiam*; cf. Heidelb., pp. 182—183 and Plummer, I. 97. The latter reads *aquilonalem* for *aquilonarem*; *habitabat* for *habitat*; *habitabant* for *habitabantur*; *acciperet* for *acceperit*, besides minor differences and variations of name-forms (*Humbre* for *Humbri*) as noticed before. Plummer also omits *fecit* after *ante eum*: but supports Hak. in

reading *trecentarum* [*et ultra*] against Heidelb.'s *trecentorum*. On the subject-matter see notes in Plummer's ed., II. 94; and cf. Will. Malmesb., *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, I. 50; *Orkneyinga Saga*, pp. 70, 73. p. 6

Hak.'s trans. of *Menauias insulas* by *Hebrides* here is as strange as it is mistaken: in the previous excerpt he rightly rendered the very same words by *Isles of Man and Anglesey*. The larger and richer of the two (*situ amplior*, etc.) is Anglesey.

[p. 4]

8. *Anno...sexcentesimo octogesimo*, etc.: in this citation Hak. agrees exactly with the Heidelb. of 1587 (p. 245). Plummer, I. 266, makes this chap. 24 (instead of 26 as in Hak. and Heidelb.) of Book IV. and has various small differences, e.g. *Bercto* for *Berto*, *Ecgfrid* for *Ecfridus*, *ne* for *nec*, etc. p. 7 l. 12

On the subject-matter, cf. Plummer's notes, II. 260; *Chronicon Scotorum*, Rolls Series, I. 265; *Annals of Ulster*, Rolls Series, 684, which last places the English devastation in the E. part of Old Meath.

The texts of Scripture referred to by Bede here are I Cor. vi. 10, and xv. 50.

§ 2. The Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, c. A.D. 890. pp. 4—6.

1. *Octher said*, etc.: this narrative comes from King Alfred's *Orosius*, Book I. chap. I (Geography of Europe), near the end. It relates to the first recorded journey to the White Sea and the Northern Dvina: it is possible, however, that other Northmen ventured at least some way along this route before Ohthere, cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 31—34; *Egil Skallagrimson's Saga*, chaps. vii—ix. The explorer's name is best spelt *Ohthere* in its Old-English form; it is the same as the Norse *Ottar* (cf. the *Saga of St Olaf*, ch. lxix. In Ælfred's form of it the words 'Oht' (fear) and 'Here' (army) seem to make it up: *Ohthere* is the reading of the Laud and Cotton MSS. p. 8 l. 4

The sentence *Octher said...Helgoland* is interpolated from a later part of O.'s narrative, the beginning of the Second Voyage, as given in Hak.'s second extract, p. 5 (foot).

A good commentary on the full text of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, as given in Ælfred's *Orosius*, may be found in Joseph Bosworth's *King Alfred's Description of Europe*, 1855, pp. 7—22. In Hak., Wulfstan's narrative is greatly abridged. The three voyages (Ohthere's northern venture, his southern journey, and Wulfstan's Baltic voyage) together form a Periplus or Coast-Survey from the extreme North of Europe, and the White Sea, round Scandinavia, to the mouth of the Vistula and the island of Gothland.

2. *Helgoland*: later, at the beginning of the second Ohthere narrative (p. 5, at foot), Hak. spells it *Halgoland*: it is usually *Halogaland* in the Sagas (e.g. of the *Heimskringla*; cf. *St Olaf's Saga* ch. cxliii.), answering to the modern Helgeland, in the S. part of the province of Norrland, in the middle of the Trondhjem territory. Finmark was N. of it. It is a narrow but long coastal region, separated from Sweden (at about 60 miles from the sea) by the Kiölen mountains. In Ohthere's time it seems to have included the l. 5

p. 8 whole of the present Norrland and a part of Tromsö; it is now limited to the coast between 65° 10′ N. Lat. and the immediate neighbourhood of the Arctic circle.

The region 'where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast' refers to the Finmark of the Sagas and of modern geography, the extremest North of the Norwegian realm or sphere of influence. For Hak.'s *fell into a fantasie and desire* the original says simply *he was desirous*.

l. 18 **3.** *Steereboord...leereboord*: i.e. Right and Left; in the original *steor-bord*, and *baec-bord*, 'starboard' and 'backboard' or 'larboard.' For *as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell* read *as the whale hunters go at the furthest*.

l. 25 **4.** For *he knew not how farre* read *he knew not which*. So, a little later, for Hak.'s *he could not tell how farre*, we should read *he knew not which*.

[p. 5]

l. 34 **5.** *And at the fifth...riuer*, etc.: or rather *There lay a great river up in that land* (simply). This was no doubt the Northern Dvina, though other suggestions have been or might be made e.g. the Gulf of Kola, the Ponoï, etc. For Hak.'s *At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course...turned backe againe, for he durst not enter thereinto* read *They then turned up into that river, because they durst not sail on by that river*, i.e. coast along on the other side of it. Also for *the maine ocean* read *a wide sea*.

p. 9 l. 4 **6.** *Biarmes*: in original, *Beormas*. See Bosworth's note 42 (p. 9 of *Alfred's Description of Europe*). The coast region of the present Arkhangelsk or Archangel Government seems always to be called *Biarmland* in the Sagas (cf., in the *Heimskringla*, *St Olaf's Saga*, ch. cxliii.; *Saga of Harald Grey-cloak*, ch. xiv. and elsewhere; *Egil Skallagrimson's Saga*, ch. xxxvii.; *Burnt Nial's Saga*, ch. xxviii.). The modern names of Perm, Permians, Permiaks, etc. are derived by many from the Biarms and Biarmaland (or Biarmland). Ohthere's remark is doubtless correct that *the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language* (or rather, *nearly one language*). The whole of our North, North-West, and East Russia was then peopled by Finnish tribes.

For *indifferent well* read *well*; for *he was afrayd to go vpon shore* read *they did not dare to come thereon*.

l. 6 **7.** *The countrey of the Terfynnes*: i.e. the present Lapland, including the Russian Lapp or 'Murman' (Norman) coast, from Varanger Fiord to the entrance of the White Sea.

l. 11 **8.** *He was not vpon land, nor*: an addition of Hak.'s.

l. 15 **9.** *For the more commoditie...horsewhales*, etc.: the text really says here that Ohthere's chief purpose was to see the country, and, besides this, to prospect for walrus fishing ('on account of the *hors-hwaels*'; the last word is a version of *hwal-ros*, 'whale-horse,' the Russian 'morse,' the W. European 'walrus'). These animals have never, within historical times, been noticed as numerous in the Baltic, but were and are common enough along the Lapland coast.

On walrus and whale-measurements (modern figures compared with Ohthere's), cf. Bosworth, *Alfred's...Europe*, notes 44—45, pp. 9—11.

l. 23 **10.** *Some be* 48 *elles...and some* 50: read *some are* 48 *ells and most* 50. Ohthere's asserted feat of killing 60 of these largest whales, with five companions, in *two* days (not *three* days, as in Hak.) is considered by most people now to be a rather tall story. Cp. Bosworth, *Alfred's...Europe*, note 46.

l. 28 **11.** *Tame Deere*: in original *unsold tame deer*. After *wherein the wealth*

of that countrey doth consist the original adds, *that is, in wild deer.* For *stall Rane Deere* modern English would say *decoy rein-deer.* p. 9

12. After 20 *kine* Hak. omits *and* 20 *sheep.* l. 32

13. *Richest...one Beare*: in original *one bear-skin.* For *bushels*, the original has *ambers*, which is about the same measure; for *a coat of a Beares skinne*, read *a bear- or otter-skin kirtle.* l. 38

14. *Countrey of Norway...small*: in original *Northmen's land...narrow*: for *in some places inhabited by the Fynnes* the original has *the Finns inhabit these mountains.* p. 10 l. 1

15. For *South* read *East* (twice). The measurement of *threescore miles* is apparently in Ohthere's own Norse reckoning; 1 Norse mile = 5 Anglo-Saxon or Old English. l. 7

For *smallest...it proueth not three miles from the Sea* read *narrowest...it might be three miles broad.*

16. *Swethland*: i.e. *Sweden*, in A.-S. *Sweoland*; the *Sweons* being often identified with the *Suiones* of Tacitus. l. 16

After *Sweoland* the original adds *to that land northwards*, and defines *Cwenaland* (Hak.'s *Queeneland*) as *along that land northwards.*

As to Cwena-land or Cwenland, the region of the Bothnia Gulf both E. and W.; the identification of the Cwen-Sea with the Gulf of Bothnia rather than the White Sea; and Adam of Bremen's notice of the Cwens, mistaken by him for Amazons, cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 545—46; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Pontificum Hammaburg. Eccl.*, III. 15; IV. 14, 17, 19, 25; Bosworth, *Alfred's...Europe*, notes 36, 42, which last quotes the 14th century Icelandic description of the *Duae Quenlandiae quae ulterius quam Biarmia boream versus extenduntur* (*Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 290).

17. *Octher...Halgoland...Hetha*: this second voyage of Ohthere's was from his far Northern home in about 65° or 66° N. Lat. to Æt-Haethum (Schleswig, not Wismar or Rostock as Hak. surmises) in 54½° N. Lat. It forms the second part of the Periplus given in Alfred's *Orosius*, from the White Sea and the extreme N. of Europe round Scandinavia into the Baltic up to Esthonia; of this periplus Ohthere's Biarma-land voyage formed the first part, Ohthere's southern voyage the second, Wulfstan's the third. l. 25

For *countrey* [*wherein he dwelled*] the original has *shire* (*scir*).

[p. 6]

18. *Scirings hall*: in full the original reads, *there is likewise a port to the South of that land* [Halogaland], *called Sciringes-heal*: prob. some harbour on the W. of Christiania Fiord (very far S. of Halogaland, as Ohthere says) is here referred to: cf. the *Ynglinga Saga*, ch. xlix. where 'Skaereid at Skiringsal' is mentioned as if in Westfold (W. of Christiania Fiord). l. 31

The *maine gulfe of the Sea* which *entreth into the land* at Sciringes-heal is apparently the Skager Rak and Kattegat.

For Hak.'s *if he lay still by night, although...euery day*, etc., the original has *if he landed at night and every day*, etc.

19. *Iutland...Iutland*: the Cotton MS., which is the only source for the text here, reads *Iraland*, and this reading is supported by Dahlmann, *Forschungen*, 1822, and others, but most editors read *Isaland* (Iceland). Assuming, like Strabo, that Ireland lay north of Britain, or even north-west, there would be no need to amend the (MS.) text here. There is no authority for 'Jutland.' *This* l. 35

p. 10 *countrey* is Britain: *the Islands...betwixt this countrey and Iraland* (al. *Isaland*; for Hak.'s *Iutland*) in any case must refer to Orkneys, Shetlands, Faroes, etc.

l. 36 **20.** For *still along the coast of this countrey...larboord*, the original has *then it is this land* [i.e. Britain] *until he comes to Scirings-heal, and all the way on the larboard, Norway.*

l. 37 **21.** *At Scirings hall...a maine gulfe of the Sea*: the original has *to the south of Sciringes-heal a very great sea*: for *on the other side against the same... Gotland...Silland* read *Iutland* [*Gothland*] *is opposite on the other side and then Zealand* [*Seeland*]. The A.-S. forms are *Gotland* and *Sillende*.

Cf. Bosworth, *Alfred's...Europe*, note 56.

p. 11 l. 2 **22.** *Many hundreth miles vp into the land*: read *many miles up into that land.*

l. 4 **23.** *Hetha*: in original *Æt-Heathum*; see note 17. The name is thought to have survived in the modern Haddeby, also mentioned by the Old English chroniclers Æthelweard and William of Malmesbury.

l. 5 **24.** *Wendels*: i.e. Wends, Vandals, or Vinedi, the Slavs of the South Baltic Littoral in the modern Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia.

25. For *whereunto it is subiect* the original has *and belongs to the Danes.*

l. 7 **26.** *Steereboord Denmarke...leereboord the maine sea*: in original *Denmark was on his left* [*baecbord*] *and on the right* [*steorbord*] *a wide sea.* Also for *Gotland on leerboord* we should read *Jutland* [*Gothland*] *on the right* (starboard). It has been suggested that the Denmark on the left refers to the old Danish provinces of Halland and Scania in the extreme S. of the modern Sweden, but there appears to be a simple mistake, of *left* for *right*, in this clause.

The comma in Hak. between *before* and *he* is certainly wrong.

It is noteworthy that Ælfred here makes the English [*Engle*] inhabit Jutland [*Gotland*], Zealand [*Silland* or *Sillende*], *and many* [*diuers other*] *islands*, before they came to Britain. For *in that countrey* we should read *in these lands.* The main settlements of Engles and Saxons were usually supposed to be on the mainland: cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* I. 15: see also Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A.D. 449, and Procopius, *Gothic War*, Book IV. The mention of *Denmark* (*Denamearc* in the A.-S.) is said to be one of the first occurrences of the name.

l. 12 **27.** *Islands...subiect to Denmarke*: i.e. Moen, etc. From this it would seem that Ohthere passed between Zealand and Moen.

l. 13 **28.** *Wolstans...Trusco*: here begins the third and last part of the northern Periplus recorded by Ælfred. As of Ohthere, nothing is known of Wulfstan except what is said by the West-Saxon king. Both were probably (Ohthere certainly) Northmen who had entered Ælfred's service. Trusco is Truso on Lake Truso or Drausen, from which the Elbing takes its course.

l. 19 **29.** *Wenedland*: in the A.-S. *Weonodland*, i.e. the land of the Wends: see note 24.

l. 20 **30.** *Langland, Layland...Sconie*: the original has *Langaland, Laeland... Sconeg*, the regions of Langland, Laaland and Sconey (Sconeg, 'the beautiful island').

l. 22 **31.** *Bargenland*: A.-S. *Burgenda-land*, i.e. Bornholm, contracted from *Burgundarholmr.*

For *a priuate king*, modern English would say of course *a king of its own.*

l. 24 **32.** *Blekingie, Meere, Eland, Gotland*: A.-S. *Blecinga-eg, Meore, Eowland, Gotland*; by these are meant (1) Bleking province in S.W. Sweden, (2) the Upper and Lower Moehre region in the Smaland province of Sweden, (3) Oeland island, (4) Gothland island.

l. 27 **33.** *Wixel*: A.-S. *Wisle*, i.e. the Vistula (Polish *Wisla*, German *Weichsel*).

On this river in the earlier Middle Ages, cf. Jordanes (Jornandes), *De reb.* p. **11**
Get., ch. 3.

34. *Witland*: the ordinary mediaeval term, at least till far on in the l. 28
Crusading period, for a part of the province of Samland in Old Prussia. This is said to be the first occurrence of the name. Cp. the *Vithlandia* of the 11th century monk Alberic.

35. *Easterlings*: A.-S. *Estas* or *Este*, i.e. the Esthonians. l. 29

36. *Eastmeere*: A.-S. *Estmere*, the present Frisches Haff, now about 60 l. 30
E. miles long and from 6 to 15 miles broad.

37. *Ilsing*: a misreading for *Ilfing*, i.e. the river Elbing in Prussia near l. 32
Danzig. For *out of another lake...Fruso* read *from the lake on the shore of which stands Truso.* Hak. of course should not have a comma between *banke* and *whereupon.*

38. *The wealthiest men...Mares milke*: in the original *the King and the* p. **12** l. 5
richest men...Kumiss. Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Pontificum Hammaburg. Eccl.* IV. 18, on the old Prussians drinking Kumiss to intoxication. Kumiss is most fully described in Rubruquis, pp. 227—8 (Recueil); see pp. 151—2, 192—3 of this vol.

Fully half of Wulfstan's narrative, following what is here printed, and relating to the burial customs of the Esthonians, is omitted by Hak.

§ 3. King Edgar's Navigation. pp. 6—9.

1. *The nauigation of King Edgar...M. Dee*: the whole of this long l. 8
extract (pp. 6—9) is from pp. 54—60 of John Dee's *General and rare memorials pertayning to the perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577), in which the heading *The Brytish Monarchie* is given at the top of all the pages, though not on the title page. The Colophon of Dee's book gives the date, Sept. 1577; and at the end of the vol. there is also the note *Finished Anno Domini* 1576, *Augusto mense.*

Most of Dee's side-notes are omitted by Hak., and there are many variations of spelling and punctuation between Hak.'s copy and his original, e.g. (on p. 6 of the *Principal Navigations*), *Christian* for *Christen*, *comfortable* for *cumfortable*, *might* for *mought*, *appurtenances* for *appertenances*, etc.

[p. **7**]

2. *Empire*: in Dee always *Impire*; a little later Hak.'s *deuise* is altered p. **13** l. 3
from *aduise*; while the compiler omits Dee's *gratiously* before *streamed downe*, and his *me* before *a subiect.*

3. *Ædgarus*, etc.: this passage occurs almost verbatim in the *Flores* l. 11
Historiarum [so called 'Matthew of Westminster'] A.D. 975 (cf. p. 375 of Abp. Parker's edition of 1570, and p. 513, vol. I., in Rolls Series Edition of 1890, by H. R. Luard. As to the number of ships, Dee, following Abp. Parker's 1567 and 1570 editions of the text, reads *quatuor millia octingentas* (which Hak. copies), but in the margin of the original edition a note reads 3600, and this is the reading of the critical edition in the Rolls Series, even though that edition preserves the fourfold arrangement of 1200 ships which requires a total of 4800. The present account may also be found, but with great differences of detail, in Florence of Worcester's (Florentius Wigor-

p. 13 niensis) *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, A.D. 975, p. 360 of the edition of 1592 (3600 *robustas sibi congregaverit naves ex quibus...omni anno* 1200 *in orientali*, 1200 *in occidentali*, 1200 *in septentrionali insulae plaga coadunare...eo quo modo totam insulam omni aestate consueverat circumnavigare ad defensionem contra exteros regni sui*): see also p. 578 in the edition of Florence in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 1848. The whole passage in Florence is really a continuation of the epitaph quoted by Dee a little later (*Anglici orbis Basileus*, etc.).

Other forms of this may be found in Higden (*Ranulphus* or *Radulphus Cestrensis* of Hak. and Dee), *Polychronicon*, VI. 11; and in Roger Hoveden (*Annalium pars prior*), p. 244, verso, of the edition of 1596, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*.

The punctuation, both in Dee and Hakluyt, is confusing, but if we transfer the comma from *ducentas* to *naves* in the second line it will be clearer.

l. 24 **4.** *Charges leuied*: in Dee *Charges hereof leuied*. So a little later Dee has *excellent good uses* for *excellent uses*, *threasor* for *treasure*, *dearth or famine* for *dearth of famine*, *vittayles* for *victuals*, *enhansed* for *enhaunsed*.

l. 41 **5.** *Anglici orbis Basileus*, etc.: this passage, with some differences, may be found in Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, edition of 1592, under A.D. 975, p. 360 (=p. 578 in the edition of 1848 in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*), where after *decus* the text adds *antecessorum regum*, *pacificus rex* and after *quam* puts *Romulus Romanis* first of the comparisons, reading also *Carolus Magnus*, and after *Francis* a much fuller and very different continuation, viz. *...anno aetatis...*XXXII., *regni autem illius in Mercia et Northimbria* XIX., *ex quo vero per totam Angliam regnavit* XVI., *indictione tertia*, VIII. *Idus Julii*, *feria quinta*, *ex hac vita transivit...Corpus... Glastoniam delatum*, etc.

Dee's citation is rather more closely represented by Higden ('Ranulphus Cestrensis,' as Hak. rightly amends Dee's Radulphus), *Polychronicon*, Book VI. ch. 11 (vol. VII. p. 18 of Rolls Series edition) where *Graecis* is read for *Macedonibus*, *Arsaces Parthis* is omitted, and *vitae suae*, *fratre suo*, *Idibus*, and *Glastoniam* are the forms adopted. In the *Flores Historiarum* ['Matth. Westminster'] A.D. 975 (vol. I. p. 514, in Rolls Series edition), the parallel passage is worded very differently, the similarities being only in *flos et decus... rex pacificus Eadgarus...anno aetatis suae tricesimo secundo, regni vero decimo sexto...corpus Glastoniae delatum*, etc. In Dee, *anno...37mo*; *...post*, *21mo*, and *Glascon.* are the exact readings, and the marginal heading *Charta Regis Henrici secundi* is placed against the lines *Quae olim...auctoritas*, a little further on.

p. 14 l. 5 **6.** For *many*, Dee reads *many rare* [*persons*].

l. 19 **7.** *Eche one* [*being of* 1000 *ships*]: in Dee *Eche*.

l. 21 **8.** *Idem quoque Ædgarus*, etc.: the marginal heading *Ranulphus* [*Cestrensis*] is in Dee *Radulphus*. This excerpt is represented, but by no means verbatim, in Higden, *Polychronicon*, Book VI. ch. 9 (vol. VI. p. 468 of Rolls Series edition): *in omni aestate post festum Paschae naves coadunari fecit, quas in quatuor partes distributas ad quatuor Angliae partes posuit: unde cum occidentali classe navigavit ad parte[m] borealem, cum boreali classe ad partem orientalem, cum orientali classe ad partem australem, cum australi classe ad partem occidentalem...Hieme vero per provinciam...iudicia ministrorum exquirebat.*

l. 34 **9.** For *dread* [*the like*] Dee reads *dread any* [*the like*]; for *the...*[*pastimes*], *those....*

[p. 8]

10. For *deuil*, Dee reads *diuell*; for *chiefe* [*and vttermost walles*], *chiefest*; for *furthering*, *furdering*, for *Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis*, *Mathaeus Westmonestariensis*. Several smaller differences are passed over. p. **15** l. 2

11. *Habebat autem*, etc.: this passage is from the *Flores Historiarum* ['Matth. Westminster'] A.D. 975 (vol. I. p. 513 in Rolls Series edition). It is an immediate continuation of the passage already quoted by Dee and Hak., *Ædgarus pacificus, regni sui prospiciens vtilitati*, etc. l. 20

The *Flores Histor.*, after *praeterea*, read *omni tempore vitae suae* and omit *intelligeret*, reading simply *ut quomodo*. The Rolls Series edition also amends *ut* to *et* before *quomodo*. Hak.'s citations from the *Flores*, here as before, are taken either from the first edition of 1567 (ed. by Archbishop Parker), or perhaps more probably from the second edition of 1570 (by the same). Both, *in these passages*, usually agree with the MSS. and with the critical text of the Rolls Series edition (Luard).

12. For [*wits and*] *trauels* Dee reads ...*trauayles*; for *with* [*vtilitie*] he has *which*...; for *good* [*purposes*], *godly*...; for *Seaforce*, *Sea Strength*: over *security* ...*loue*...*heauenly spirite*, Dee puts 1, 2, 3. l. 32

13. *Altitonantis Dei*, etc.: in this extract Dee omits the comma between *Regum* and *Insularum*, and reads *Britanniani* for *Britanniam* (which latter however is given in Dee's margin) and *Æthelwoldum* for *Athelwoldum*. p. **16** l. 26

This charter to Worcester may be found in Walter de Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Vol. III. (1893), pp. 377—381 (no. 1135). It is of A.D. 964, and was given at Gloucester, Holy Innocents' Day, Wed., Dec. 28. See also Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* no. DXIV. The full text in Birch's *Cart. Sax.* adds (after *rex regum*) *et dominus dominantium*, reads *circumiacent* for *circumiacentis* (the preceding *que* being relative), *Æthelstani* for *Athelstani*, *regum* for *regnum* (*Anglorum*), *Brytanniam* for *Britanniam*, *Norregiam* for *Noruegiam*, *Hyberniae* for *Hiberniae*, *Dublina* for *Dublinia*, *Æthelwoldum* for *Athelwoldum*, *in* (*patres*) for *mihi*, *perfeci* for *effeci*. It also omits *et* before *omnes nationes* and adds *in regno meo* after *Christi gloriam et laudem*.

[p. 9]

14. *Omnipotentis Dei*: this charter is really of 970 (not 973, as Hak.). It may be found in Walter de Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Vol. III. pp. 557—560 (no. 1266). See also Kemble, *Codex Diplom. Ævi Sax.*, no. DLXIII. p. **17** l. 7

The concluding asseveration *Ego Ædgarus* etc. is not in this charter, though it occurs elsewhere in so many words. In the body of Hak.'s extract the full text, in Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, reads *quiete pacem* for *quieta pace*, *nostra* for *ne* (*inertia*), and for the date *anno Incarnationis*...*nonagentesimo septuagesimo*...*anno regni mei tertio decimo*.

Another Ely charter of 970 from Eadgar (*totius Britanniae basileus*) is printed by Kemble, vol. VI. pp. 97—8 of *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* (no. MCCLXIX.).

15. For *attaining* Dee reads *attayning*; for *all*, *al*; for *only*, *onely*; for *warlike*, *warlik*; for *order of the*...*seruice*, *order of*...*seruices*; for *able*, *hable*; for *Brittish*, *Brytish*; for *chuse*, *chose*; for *iewel*, *iuell*, and other trivial differences. l. 27

§ 4. Voyage of Edmund and Edward, sons of Edmund Ironside, into Hungary; Chronicle of the Kings of Man; Marriage of Harold's daughter to Ieruslaus duke of Russia. pp. 9—16.

p. **18** l. 29 **1.** *Dedit consilium Edricus*, etc.: this passage is from Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, A.D. 1017, p. 391 of the edition of 1592.

Hak. inserts *Canuto regi* and omits *etiam* in the first clause; in the second sentence Hak.'s *Suauorum* is for the original (and right) *Suanorum*; in the last Hak. omits *virginem* after *Sanctimonialem*.

It is hardly worth commenting on the subject-matter of passages which do not really bear on Hak.'s proper subject, but Salomon was not king of Hungary till 1063; St Stephen reigned over that country down to 1038, and is probably, if any, the sovereign referred to. The whole of this account of the fortunes of Eadmund Ironside's descendants is very doubtful. *Clitonem Eadgarum* is Eadgar the Ætheling.

[p. **10**]

p. **19** l. 16 **2.** *A Chronicle of the Kings of Man*, etc.: this long series of extracts is translated, apparently by Hakluyt himself, from William Camden's *Britannia*, pp. 529—542 of the 1st edition of 1586. It is no doubt called *Chorographie* by Hak. from the sub-title;—*Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et insularum...adiacentium chorographica descriptio.* Hak.'s version is, on the whole, faithful and close, but why he should have inserted this record in the *Principal Navigations* is a difficult question.

l. 18 **3.** *In the yeere of our Lord* 1066, etc.: an amended version of Camden's strange *A.D. 1047...obiit Edwardus. Harfager* is a mistake for Hardrada. *Ramsa* is Ramsay in Man.

l. 29 **4.** *William the Conquerour*: in Camden, *Gulielmus Bastard.* A little later *sailed* is Hak.'s trans. of *venit.*

p. **20** l. 1 **5.** *A wood standing vpon...Scacafel*: in Camden *silva quae erat in deuexo montis supercilio, qui vocatur Scacasel.*

l. 29 **6.** *Lainestir*: in Camden *Laynestir*, i.e. Leinster: at the foot of p. 10 Hak.'s *wel-disposed person* is a trans. of *industrium.*

[p. **11**]

p. **21** l. 18 **7.** *Vnto him* [*and appoint him...King*]: in Camden *in unum...*; a little later, *Earle Othor* is in Camden *Other Comes*; again, *the corps* (of St Olaf of Norway) is *incorruptionem*, and *presently* is *statim*, while *he had the people of Galway in such awe* is *Galwediences ita constrinxit*, and *Anglesey* is *Moniam.* Hak., omitting, here as elsewhere, most of Camden's marginal notes, passes over the gloss *Monia pro Anglesey vide Giraldum Cambrensem in Itinerario Cambriae.*

p. **22** l. 42 **8.** *Fully resolued* [*to conquer...Irland*]: in Camden *nihil cogitabat quam.* For *Armagh* Camden has *Dune.*

[p. **12**]

p. **23** l. 7 **9.** *Sent for* [*Olauus*]: in Camden *accerserunt*: for *William the Conquerour* Camden has *Gulielmi* only.

10. After *Engus and Olauus* and before *in the yeere* 1134 Hak. omits to translate the entry for 1133, referring to an eclipse. p. **23** l. 20

11. *With his nobilitie*: Hak.'s trans. of *cum suis*; his *gathering an armie*, a little later, is a version of *congregata classe*. l. 39

12. *Coridelis*: in Camden, *Cortdelis*: at the end of this paragraph Hak.'s *one halfe thereof* is simply *illud* in Camden; and at the end of p. 12 [*Malcolme the king*] *of Scots* is *Scotiae*. p. **24** l. 21

[p. **13**]

13. *Iohn Curcy*: in Camden, *Joannes de Curcy*; Hak.'s *Vlster* is *Ultoniam*, his *sea of Rome* is for *Apostolicae Sedis*. p. **25** l. 17

14. *Absent from*: in Camden *non erunt* [for *erant*] *in*; in the next entry, under 1217, Hak.'s *Reginald* is *Reginandus* in Camden. p. **26** l. 31

15. *Folowers*: in Camden *exercitus*; in the next clause *boldly* is Hak.'s version of *fiduciter*. p. **27** l. 6

[p. **14**]

16. *That he would consult about the premisses*: in Camden *habiturum se consilium*: by *his iourney vnto S. Iames* a pilgrimage to the Spanish shrine of St James at Compostella in Galicia is meant. After this Hak. does not trans. *et iam reuersum* (i.e. that when Olaf came back from Compostella his brother made him marry). l. 16

17. *Cousine german...Lauon*: in Camden, *germanam uxoris suae Lauon nomine*, which leaves it uncertain whether the wife or the cousin-german was *Lauon*. *Reginald the bishop* is *Reginandus Episcopus* in Camden, who also adds *canonice* before *separavit*: for *cousin german* at the end of this paragraph Camden has *consobrinam*. l. 28

18. *To take* [*Olauus*]: in Camden *ut occideret*; for *Boke*, a little later, Camden has *Beke*, but subsequently *Boke* also. l. 37

19. *In the dead of the night*: in Camden *intempestae noctis silentio*. p. **28** l. 7

20. *Certaine victuals*: in Camden *II...cibariis*: a little later, *had no list* is Hak.'s version of *libuit* (sic), and *vnder pretense* is a trans. of *sub occasione*. After *Alanus lord of Galway* Hak. omits to trans. *eodem tempore dedit filiam suam filio Alani in matrimonio*. l. 26

21. *Athol*: in Camden *Etholiae*: for *vpon the sudden...dead of the night* Camden has *inopinato...intempesta nocte*. p. **29** l. 5

[p. **15**]

22. *Concluding a peace*: in Camden *pacem petens*: in this clause Camden spells the port *Ragnollwath*: we may contrast this with *Roghalwaht* elsewhere. *By certaine souldiers*, a little later, is simply *a quibusdam* in Camden, whose *ibidem* here is not translated by Hak. l. 20

23. *Haco*: in Camden *Hacho*: Hak.'s *of the Hebrides* is a version of Camden's *Soderensium*, while *Lewis* is of course *Lodhus* in the Latin text. l. 34

24. *Torquellus*: in Camden *Thorquellum*: Hak.'s *pupil*, at end of this paragraph, is *alumno* in Camden, *Yuarus a souldier* (under A.D. 1249) is *Yuaro milite*, and *Alexander king of Scots* is simply *A...rex*. p. **30** l. 13

25. *Kerwary*: in Camden *Kerwaray*: Hak.'s *falling into an ague* is in Camden *febre correptus*. In the next entry *fugitiues* is Hak.'s version of *profugos*. p. **31** l. 9

[p. **16**]

p. **31** l. 35 **26.** *Kirwas*: in Camden *Kirkwas*, i.e. Kirkwall. In the entry under 1266 *translated vnto* [*Alexander*] is in Camden *translatum propter*....

p. **32** l. 9 **27.** *Fiue hundreth fourtie* etc.: this verse in the original runs

L decies X ter et penta duo cecidere
Mannica gens de te damna futura caue.

On the subject-matter of this whole excerpt, surprisingly irrelevant as it is to the real theme of the *Principal Navigations*, it will perhaps be enough to say, that Man—conquered by Harald Fairhair of Norway in 870 and governed for some time by Norse viceroys—was under the Kings of Leinster from 1060 to 1072, under the Kings of Dublin from 1072 to 1075, under the Kings of Munster from 1075 to 1079. The island was ruled by Sigtrygg Ragnvaldson (Rogn—; Hak.'s 'Syrric'), from 1052 to 1060; by Gudrod II. Crowan Haraldson (Hak.'s 'Godredus Crouan'), from 1079 to 1089 [al. 1095]; by Lagman Gudrodson, from 1089 to 1096; by Dofnald (Hak.'s 'Dopnald') and Ingemund, from 1096 to 1098; in this connection, Hak.'s 1075 and 1077, taken from Camden, should probably be 1095 and 1097; see pp. 10, 11 of the *Principal Navigations*. Man was conquered by Magnus III. of Norway ('Barefoot') in 1098 and was held by this sovereign till his death in 1103 (cf. Hak.'s *sixe yeeres*, p. 12; Hak. makes Magnus the grandson of Harald 'Harfager' or Fairhair, who died 930; it should be Harald Hardrada, killed at Stamford Bridge in 1066); Magnus' son Sigurd (Jerusalem-Farer, King of Norway 1103—1130) governed the island on his father's behalf during this time, 1098—1103. After Magnus was defeated and killed in Ireland (1103), Olaf I. Bitling Gudrodson (Hak.'s 'Olauus son of Godredus Crouan') reigned in Man from 1103 to 1153 (Hak.'s *fourtie yeeres*); Gudrod III. Olafson (Hak.'s 'Godredus son of Olauus') from 1153 to 1187; Ragnvald or Rognvald I. Gudrodson (Hak.'s 'Reginald sonne of Godred') from 1187 to 1229; Olaf II. Gudrodson ('Olauus' of 'Lodhus') from 1187 to 1237 (nominally; see Hak. p. 15, under 1237, on his 11 years of real power); Harald Olafson ('Haraldus his sonne') from 1237 to 1248; Gudrod IV. Don Ragnvaldson (Hak.'s 'Godredus Don') from 1229 to 1230 only; Harald II. Gudrodson ('Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don') from 1249 to 1250; Magnus II. Olafson from 1250 to 1265 (see Hak. p. 15, under 1252, for Magnus' real power in Man from that year); while Ragnvald II. Olafson ('Reginald the sonne of Olauus') reigned only during a part of May, 1249.

Sumerledus or Sumerled (p. 12 of Hak. under 1156, etc.) is Somerled or Somhairle, Lord of the Isle 1156—1164, and 'thane' of Argyle; 'Dubgal' is his younger son Dufgall or Dugald. It was in 1156 that Gudrod III. of Man ('Godredus son of Olauus') ceded part of the Hebrides to Somerled: on the death of Somerled some of his possessions in the Western Isles (including Cantire) went to his eldest son Ragnvald or Reginald, and another part (including Lorne) went to the younger son Dufgall.

l. 34 **28.** *Haraldo caeso*, etc.: this passage comes, not from the '9 booke' of Saxo Grammaticus, but from the XIth, near the beginning, on p. 187, ll. 47—53, of the text of the *Danica Historia Libris XVI*... as printed at Frankfurt-on-Main (*Francofurti ad Mænum*) by And. Wecheli in 1576, which is probably the edition used by Hak. The differences are very trifling, but the Frankfurt text begins *Cuius filii duo confestim*, and reads *Sueno* for *Sweno*, *eorum* for *illorum* (*meriti*) and *Iarizlauus* for *Iarislaus*.

p. **38** *Breue de generali summonitione in itinere iustitiariorum itinerantium apud Shipwey in com. Kanc. infra libertatem quinque portuum*; as quoted by Lambarde; *Rex dilectis...balliuis de Hastings salutem...eodem modo balliuis de Romnal...Heya...Doure...Sandwyz.* The precaution relative to Dunwich and Yarmouth is also as Lambarde translates it: *et quoniam saepius contentio inter homines praedictorum portuum et homines de Gernemuth et de Donwich, fiat breue vic. Norff. et Suff. in hac forma* (in which form the forms *Iernemewe* and *Donewitz* occur), the whole concluding *tunc fit apud Shipwey coram...iustitiariis...querelam suam propositurus et iustitiam inde recepturus.*

§ 6. Letter of Ivo of Narbonne. pp. 20, 21.

[p. **20**]

p. **39** l. 24 **1.** *The Lord therefore*, etc.: this part of Ivo's letter is quoted from Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora* (*Historia Maior*), A.D. 1243, vol. IV. pp. 272—276, of Rolls Series edition, 1877 (Luard). More than one-third of the complete letter precedes that portion printed by Hak. and about one-seventh follows after Hak.'s conclusion. The whole occupies pp. 270—277 in the Rolls edition, and has the heading *Quaedam Epistola Archiepiscopo Burdegalensi transmissa terribilis nimis.* For his purpose, Hak. prob. used the text published by Archbishop Parker in 1571, *Matthaei Paris, Monachi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Maior, a Guilielmo Conquestore ad ultimum annum Henrici tertii.* Londini, 1571, extracting pp. 819 (foot)—822 (top) *Hoc igitur et multis aliis peccatis...mihilominus perierunt.* In this edition of 1571 the letter is headed *Epistola terribilis de crudelitate Tartarorum.*

l. 25 **2.** *Committed*: in Hak. orig. *emergentibus.* In the next sentence *This I may iustly affirme to be true* is in Hak.'s original *Hoc idcirco dixerim.*

l. 28 **3.** *Lawlesse...furious*: in Hak.'s orig. *exlex...furor*; *Tartars*, in the next sentence, is Hak.'s trans. of *Tattari*, *Hungarie* of *Pannoniam.* The marginal *Neustat* (i.e. Neustadt in Austria) is supplied by Hak. from an earlier paragraph of the letter (*in quodam oppido Austriae quod Theutonice Neustat dicitur*).

l. 34 **4.** *I my selfe abode*: in Hak.'s original *tunc forte morabar.* After *souldiers* Hak. does not translate *truculenter.*

l. 37 **5.** *The captaine* is Frederic duke of Austria (Friedrich II., 'the Warlike,' A.D. 1230—1246).

vaste [*armie*] in the next sentence is Hak.'s version of *circumfusum* [*ex^m*], and *beastly* is his trans. of *immanem.*

p. **40** l. 2 **6.** *Signified foorthwith vnto their gouernour...subiects*: in Hak.'s orig. *ascendentes ad Dominum Christianorum planctus miserabiles audiebantur.* For *Dominum* the Rolls text reads *Deum.*

l. 7 **7.** [*Chieftains*] *And...sauage followers...cates*: in Hak.'s original [*principes*] *cum suis cynocephalis aliisque lotophagis quasi pane vescentes.* In the Rolls text *cenofaris* is read for *Cynocephalis.* In the MSS. a representation of the Tartars eating human victims is inserted here, at the foot of the page.

l. 16 **8.** *Tender paps*: in Hak.'s original *papillis* only. At the end of this sentence Hak.'s *engorged...bodies* is a version of *ipsis virgineis corporibus lautius epulabantur.*

l. 20 **9.** *The Duke of Austria* is Friedrich II. (see note 5): *the King of Bohemia* is Wenceslas III., otherwise Wenceslas I. (1230—1253): *the Patriarch of*

§ 5. On the Cinque Ports. pp. 17—20.

[p. **17**]

1. *I finde*, etc.: this long excerpt, covering pp. 17—20 (top) of Hak., is from pp. 114—124 of the *Perambulation of Kent, conteining the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of that Shyre, written*...1570...*by William Lambarde of Lincolnes Inne, first published* 1576...*now increased*...*after the author's owne last copie*: printed by Edm. Bollifant, London, 1596. p. **33** l. 24

There are many small differences of spelling and punctuation, but nothing very material: the chief are the following on p. 17:—Hak. adds, in the margin, *1070* (near the beginning) and *1250 Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing*; in the text he reads *flee* for *flie*, *commanding* for *commaunding*, *bene* for *been*.

[p. **18**]

2. *Winchelsey*: later spelt *Wincelsey* by Hak., *Winchelsey* by Lamb. Hak. here omits the date *1268* which Lamb. gives in the margin. p. **35** l. 21

3. *And thus it stood*: against this Hak. adds the marginal date *1278*. In the list of ports a little later Lamb. has *Bekisborne* and *Rye*. p. **36** l. 33

[p. **19**]

4. *Charges*: in Lamb. *wages*: in the list of Cinque and other Ports a little later Lamb. reads *Hethe* for *Heth* (at first), *Bulwerhethe* for *Bulwerheth*. p. **37** l. 22

5. *Sandwich*...*Romenal and Hethe*: after this Lambarde reads *before*. A little later Lambarde reads *daies togither* for *dayes together*, *easely* for *easily*, *refer* for *referre*. p. **38** l. 1

6. *Safe* [*conduct*...*Kings owne person*]: in Lambarde *salfe*; in the same paragraph Lambarde reads *enimie*, *proffered*. The rest of the variations are exceedingly trivial, e.g. *fourtie* for *fortie*, *wals* for *walles*, *graunt* for *grant*, *ods* for *oddes*. l. 20

The place of the marginal heading *The good seruice of the fiue Ports* has been somewhat altered by Hak.: in Lambarde it stands against the lines beginning *Thus much out of these ancient notes*.

Lambarde's references to Domesday Book may be found pretty well borne out by the following entries:—In the edition of 1783 (*Domesday Book seu Liber censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae*...*jubente rege Georgio III.*—the only complete printed text of Domesday), under *Chenth* (Kent) vol. I. p. 1, col. 1, ll. 6—8, after the recital of the ships supplied by *Dovere* (*xx naues regi una vice in anno ad xv dies et in unaquaque naui homines xx et unus*) it is stated *hoc faciebant pro eo quod eis pdonauerat saccam et socam*. These customs were in force under Edward the Confessor: *omnes hae consuetudines erant ibi quando Willelmus rex in Angliam uenit*. On Sandwich (*Sandwice*) Domesday (same edition and vol., page 3, col. 1, ll. 6–7) records that the service owed by that port was similar to Dover's: *reddit similem servitium regi sicut Dovere:* further, *tempore mortis R. E.* [*Regis Edwardi*] *non erat ad firmam*.

Lambarde's (and Hak.'s) citation from Bracton is doubtless from the edition of 1569; *Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae Libri quinq;: Londini, Apud Richardum Tottellum* 1569. In Liber III. *tractatus secundus De Corona*, cap. 2, fols. 117 v° and 115 r°, the form is given of the

Aquileia is Bertrand Von Meran (1218—1251): *the Duke of Carinthia* is Bernard (1202—1256): *the Earle of Baden* is either Hermann IV., margrave, or *marchio de Bade*, as Hak.'s original calls him († 1243), or Hermann V. († 1250). After *mightie power* Hak. does not translate *conterminorum*. p. **40**

10. *Accursed crew*: in Hak.'s orig. *nephandus exercitus*: for *those Tartarian vagabonds...distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie* the orig. has only *illi cursores...miserabilem Hungariam*. l. 23

11. *Most tyrannical... Tartars*: in Hak.'s original *nequissimi... Tattarorum*. l. 33

12. *Well, being allured*: in Hak.'s original *Hic inductus*. In the next sentence *about* is Hak.'s version of *ante*. l. 37

13. *A paire of shooes and a haire cappe onely*: in Hak.'s original *calceos de bove, cappam de cilicio*. After *hunger* Hak. does not translate *cum infirmitate*: his *like a foole* is for *omnino ut fatuus*: his *vncoth* is for *inexpresse*. p. **41** l. 1

14. *Endangered himselfe*: in Hak.'s original *se commendasset*. l. 6

15. *In Caldea*: in Hak.'s original *apud Chaldaeos*, i.e. among gypsy wonder-workers, fortune-tellers, etc. l. 8

16. *Being admonished*: in Hak.'s original *postquam...acceperunt responsum*. l. 17

[p. **21**]

17. *Hasty*: in Hak.'s original *auari*: a little later *rough and hufshouldred* is for *scapulas rigidas et erectas*: while *flatte* [*noses*] is for *distortos* [*nasos*]: and *long* [*chinnes*] for *proeminentia* [*menta*]. l. 23

18. *Their vpper iawes...low and declining*: in Hak.'s original *superiorem mandibulam humilem et profundam*: a little later, *thinne* [*teeth*] is for *raros* [*dentes*]; and *fore-heads* for *crinibus*. l. 34

19. *Countenances writhen and terrible*: in Hak.'s original *aspectus obliquos et torvos*: a little later, *thighes* is for *crura*. l. 37

20. *Utterly...waste, situated far beyond Chaldea*: in Hak.'s original *maximae vastitatis ultra omnes Caldaeos*: a little later *hides of beasts being tanned* is for *coriis earundem bullitis*. l. 42

21. *Maces*: in Hak.'s original *clavis*: a little later *courriers* is for *satellites*; and *vnprouided* for *immunitum*. p. **42** l. 6

22. *Voyage to Colen*, etc.: in Hak.'s original *nunc se propter Magos reges, quorum sacris corporibus ornatur Colonia*, etc. l. 25

23. *S. Iames of Galicia*, i.e. the shrine of St James at Compostella. l. 33

§ 7. Critical Notes to John de Plano Carpini. pp. 21—37, 37—53.

The following abbreviations are used:

H. = Hakluyt.
A. = Avezac; i.e. the Paris text of 1838—1839, as given by M. d'Avezac.
Pet. = The Petau MS.
Corpus = The Corpus MS.
Colb. = The Colbert MS.
Lond.-Lum. = The London-Lumley MS.
D. = The Dupuy MS.
On the Carpini MSS. see Introductory Note to this Vol.

p. **43** Salutation and Prologue] [Hak., p. **21**]

l. 9 **1.** *Inimicis suis*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *inimicis Dei et Domini Jesu Christi*, A., with Pet , Colb. [latter omits *Dei*].

l. 10 **2.** Before *nationes alias* [H.], A. inserts *ad*, with Pet. and Colb. (twice).

l. 11 **3.** *Et* [*venerabilium*], H.; *ac* [*ven...*], A., with Pet. and Colb.

l. 14 **4.** *Et* [*alijs nationibus*] H.; *vel ab* [*al... nat...*], A., with Colb.; *et ab*, Lond.-Lum.; *vel*, Pet.

[p. **22**]

l. 15 **5.** *Contumelia*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *contumeliis*, A.

l. 16 **6.** *Credidimus*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *crediderimus*, A.

l. 20 **7.** *Vt saltem*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *vel saltem*, A., with Pet.; *saltem ...veraciter*, om. Colb. which reads *ut*.

l. 22 **8.** *Imparatos*, H., with D.; *inparatos*, Lond.-Lum.; *impreparatos*, A.

l. 23 **9.** *Fecerunt* [*...stragem*], H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *facerent*, A.

l. 27 **10.** After *per ipsos* and before *et* [H.] A. inserts *pariter*, with Pet., Colb.; Lond.-Lum. omits.

l. 29 **11.** *Captiui*, H., with Colb.; *capti*, A., with Pet.

12. *Etiam a supremo*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *enim a summo*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 31 **13.** After *Benedictus* [H.] A. inserts *Polonus*, with Pet.

l. 32 **14.** After Prologue, as in Hak., A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *Sed si aliqua scribimus propter noticiam legentium quae in partibus vestris nesciuntur, non debetis propter hoc nos appellare mendaces qui vobis referimus illa* [*alia*, P.] *quae ipsi vidimus vel ab aliis pro certo audivimus quos esse credimus fide dignos. Imo est valde crudele ut homo propter bonum quod facit ab aliis infametur.*

CHAPTER I.

p. **44** l. 1 For H.'s heading, supported by Lond.-Lum., D., A. reads with Pet. *De terrae* [*-a*, H.] *Tartarorum situ, et* [om. H.] *qualitate ipsius* [om. H.] *et dispositione aeris in eadem*. Colb. reads *De ritu T...., terra, et situ....* [Corresponding to Chap. 3 (*De situ et qualitate terrae Tartarorum*) in Vincent of Beauvais' Abridgement, *Speculum Historiale*, book XXXII. otherwise XXXI.] For Corpus see also Introduction.

l. 8 **1.** Before *bello* [H., with all MSS. but Pet.] A. inserts *in*, with Pet.

1A. After the headings, as in H. (*hoc modo per capitula describemus*), A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *ultimo de via quam fecimus et curia Imperatoris et testibus qui in terra Tartarorum nos invenerunt*. Lond.-Lum. omits.

1B. *Possumus*, H.; *possunus*, Lond.-Lum., D.; *proposuimus*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 11 **2.** *Vero*, H., with all MSS., exc. Pet.; *quidem*, A., with Pet.

l. 13 **3.** *Kytaiorum*, H.; *Kitaorum*, A.; *Quitaorum*, Pet.; *Kytaorum*, Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *Kyraiorum*, D. [Later we have *Kytai*, H.; *Kitai*, A.; *Kitay*, Pet.] In Lond.-Lum. the letter *t* has been touched up, apparently by the original scribe.

4. *Solangorum*, H. and A.; *Salangorum*, Pet.; *Sclangorum*, Lond.-Lum.

5. [*Sunt*] *terrae*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *terra*, A., with Pet.; Lond.-Lum. omits *sunt*.

6. *Huyrorum*, H., with D.; *terra est posita Huiurorum*, A., with Pet., [Colb., which reads *Hyuirorum*]; *Huyiorum*, Lond.-Lum. p. **44** l. 14

7. *Naymanorum*, H., with all exc. Pet.; *Naimanorum*, A., with Pet. [Later we have *Naymani* in Pet., Lond.-Lum., D.; *Naimanni* in Colb.] l. 15

8. *Nimium*, H., with all exc. Pet.; *Nimirum*, A., with Pet. l. 16

9. *Admixta glarea, raro argillosa, plurimum est arenosa*, H.; A. omits *raro argillosa* and *est*; D. reads *amixta*; Lond.-Lum. has, in the original script (like Colb.), *admixta glarea, plurimum est arenosa*, but above *glarea* has been added in a later hand and different ink *et argillosa*. l. 17

10. *Et alij*, H.; *et alii homines omnes*, A., with Pet. l. 20

11. *Sunt* [*paucae*], H.; *non sunt...*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 24

12. After *bona* A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *quae Caracaron nominatur*. Lond.-Lum. omits, like Colb., D. l. 26

13. *Dimidium diem*, H., with Colb.; *dimidiam dietam etiam*, A., with Pet. l. 27

14. *Nusquam pluit*, H.; *nunquam pluit*, A. l. 39

15. *Madidare*, H., with all exc. Pet.; *modidare*, A., with Pet. p. **45** l. 2

16. *Sede regni*, H., with Colb.; *sede regia*, A., with Pet. l. 3

17. *Circuendam*, H.; *circuendo*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum. l. 11

18. *Dimidium*, H.; *dimidio*, A., with Pet. l. 12

CHAPTER 2.

For H.'s heading, supported by Lond.-Lum., D., A. reads *De formis personarum* [*Tartarorum*, H.], *de conjugio, vestibus, habitaculis et rebus* [om. H.] *ipsorum*. Pet. reads *De personis et vestibus et habitaculis, de rebus, de ipsorum conjugio*; Colb., *De formis personarum Tartarorum et conjugio* etc....*rebus eorum*, as in A. [Corresponding to Chap. 4 (*De forma et habitu et victu eorum*) in Vincent of Beauvais, except to a certain extent as concerns the *victus*.] For Corpus, see also Introduction. l. 13

[p. **23**]

1. Before *genas* [H.] A. inserts *inter*, with Pet., Colb., Vinc. Beauv. l. 19

2. After *maxillis*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv., *nasum habent planum et modicum, oculos habent parvos, et palpebras usque ad supercilia elevatas*. Lond.-Lum. omits, like Colb., D. l. 20

3. *Minime*, H., with all exc. Pet.; *minima*, A., with Pet. l. 22

4. *Similiter*, H., with Colb., D.; *generaliter*, A., with Pet., Lond.-Lum. l. 26

5. *Plures vel pauciores*, H.; *plures aliquis pauciores*, Pet.; *et aliquis*, Colb. l. 35

6. *Sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen et vxores*, H.; *sorores autem ex patre tantum, et uxores etiam*, A.; *sorores*, only in Vinc. Beauv. l. 37

7. *Pallijs, cappis vel capputijs*, H.; *Capis, palliis, vel capuciis*, A.; *caputiis*, D.; *capuciis*, Lond.-Lum. p. **46** l. 4

8. *Bukeramo...Baldaquino*, H., with D.; *Bucarano...Baldakino*, A., with Pet.; *Bucarano...Baldekino*, Colb.; *Bukerano...Baldekino*, Lond.-Lum.; later, D. reads *Buccaramo*; Colb. *Bukaramo*. l. 6

9. *Supremo*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *summo*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 7

10. *Quia*, H.; *et*, A. For *scissae*, just before, Lond.-Lum. reads *cissae* [*-e*]. l. 8

11. *Et in*, H.; *etiam*, A. l. 8

12. *Longum*, H.; *lungum*, A. l. 15

13. Before *instrumentum*, A. adds, with Pet., Colb., *et tam pileolum* l. 20

p. 46 *quam* [*pelleolum* Pet.; *pilleolum* Colb.; *pilliolum* Lond.-Lum., which however cancels this clause].

l. 25 **14.** *Quum*, H.; *quoniam*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 28 **15.** *Subtiliter*, H.; *subtilibus*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 34 **16.** *Somarios*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Colb.; *summarios*, A., with Vinc. Beauv.; *luminarios*, Pet.

l. 37 **17.** *Vel quod est magis*, H.; *secundum quod magna est*, A., with Pet., Colb.

CHAPTER 3.

p. 47 l. 1 For H.'s heading, supported by Lond., Lum., D., A. reads, with Pet., *De cultu...et expurgationibus et ritu funeris*; Colb. reads *peccatorum purgationibus*, and adds *Tartarorum* at end. This chapter answers to Chap. 7 in Vinc. Beauv., *De superstitiosis traditionibus ipsorum*. For Corpus see Introduction.

l. 4 **1.** *Dicendum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *supponendum*, A., with Pet., Colb.

[p. 24]

l. 17 **2.** Before *duces*, Pet. adds like Corpus and *Recueil* text *Sed quando volunt illa idola facere, omnes majores dominae conveniunt quae sunt in stationibus illis, et cum reverencia faciunt illa; et cum fecerunt interficiunt ovem et manducant; et ossa ejus igne comburunt. Et cum etiam aliquis puer infirmatur, praedicto modo faciunt idolum et ligant super lectum ipsius.* Lond.-Lum. omits, like Colb., D.

l. 18 **3.** *Vnum*, H.; *hircum*, A., with Colb. [*yrcum*], Lond.-Lum; *pratum*, Pet.

l. 21 **4.** *Et potu*, H.; *vel de potu*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 28 **5.** *Vero*, H., with D.; *si*, A., with Lond.-Lum.

l. 30 **6.** *Alios*, H.; *aliquos*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 32 **7.** *Russiae*, H.; *Ruscie*, A., with Colb.; *Mscie*, Pet.; *Ruchiae*, Lond.-Lum. later.

l. 34 **8.** *Cyngis...*, H. with Lond.-Lum., which reads *Cham*; *Chingis...*, A., with Colb.; *Chingis Cim*, Pet.

l. 40 **9.** *Hoc faceret, quia non liceret*, H.; *facere quod non licet*, A.; *faceret...* etc., Pet.; *quam faceret*, Colb. Three lines later, *robustos*, H.; *robustus*, A., with MSS.

p. 48 l. 5 **10.** *Igitur lumina*, H.; *insuper, lunam*, A., with Pet.; *et lunam*, Colb.

l. 7 **11.** *Et bibant*, H., A.; *vel etiam bibunt ei*, Pet.; *vel etiam bibant*, Colb.

l. 8 **12.** *Cogunt...negare*, H.; *ad huc quod intelleximus coegerunt...negare*, A.; after which A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *excepto Michaele de quo dictum est supra. Quid ulterius faciant, ignoramus: presumitur tamen a quibusdam quod si monarchiam haberent, quod Deus avertat, facerent quod omnes isti idolo inclinarent.*

l. 9 **13.** *Tamen*, H., with Colb.; *etiam*, A.

l. 10 **14.** *Saruogle*, H., with D.; *Cherneglove*, A., with Pet.; *Scirnogle*, Lond.-Lum.; *Urinyglone*, Colb. [later Pet. reads *Gerneglorie*].

l. 15 **15.** *Par esse*, H., with D.; *puero*, A., with Lond.-Lum.

l. 24 **16.** *Et patres*, H.; *vel antecessores*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 26 **17.** *Cum cultello*, H., with D.; *ignem cultello*, A., with Colb.; *cutello*, Pet. and Lond.-Lum., but earlier Lond.-Lum. reads *cultellum*.

l. 37 **18.** *Morsus*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *morsellus*, A., with Pet., Colb.

p. 49 l. 10 **19.** *Itoga...Cham, id est, imperatorem*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Kam*,

A., with Pet.; Lond.-Lum. reads *Ytoga...cham ipsum*, omitting *id est imperatorem*; Colb. reads *Ytoga sed Comani Kam ipsum appellant.* p. **49**

20. After *purificentur*, A. adds, with Lond.-Lum., Colb., Pet., *ne forte veneficia fecerint et venenum vel aliquid mali portaverint* [*aut venen...*, Colb.]. l. 20

[p. **25**]

21. After *infirmatur*, A. adds, with Pet., Colb., *ad mortem.* l. 25

22. *Contra*, H.; *circa*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum.

23. *Postes*, H.; *terminos*, A.; *ejus*, add Pet., Colb. after *stationum.* l. 27

24. *Omnes*, H.; *quasi omnes*, A., with Pet., Colb.

25. *Alueum*, H.; *alveolum*, A., with Colb.; *alveorum*, Pet. l. 33

26. *Sibi equos...equos etiam*, H., with Lond.-Lum. (which adds *et* before *equos*), D.; A. omits *etiam*, with Pet., after *equos*, and inserts *etiam* after *sibi*; Colb. reads *sibi et equis...et equos.* l. 38

27. After *equitare*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *et ossa illius equi quem comedunt pro anima ejus comburunt. Et saepe etiam conveniunt mulieres ad comburendum ossa pro animabus hominum ut nostris vidimus oculis et ab aliis intelleximus ibidem. Vidimus etiam quod Occodai* [*Cam*] *Can pater istius imperatoris dimisit unum virgultum crescere pro anima sua: unde praecepit quod nullus incideret ibi, et quicunque incidet ibi aliquam virgam, ut ipsi vidimus, verberebatur, expoliabatur et male tractabatur; et cum nos multum indigeremus ad equum percutiendum, non fuimus ibi ausi incidere unam virgam.*

28. *Vaditur*, H.; *vadunt*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum. l. 42

29. *Eo donec*, H.; *ipso, quod*, A., with Pet., Colb. p. **50** l. 3

30. After *dictum est* [*superius dictum est*, A., with Pet.], A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *sed tentorium suum exterius relinquunt in campo.* l. 9

31. *Cœmeteria*, H.; *cimiteria*, A., with Pet., Colb. [later Colb. reads *cymiterii*]; *cymiteria*, Lond.-Lum. l. 10

32. *Nescientes*, H.; *inscienter*, A.; *nescienter*, Pet., Colb., Lond. l. 18

33. *Sagittae volantes*, H.; *illi sagittare volentes*, A., with Pet., Colb., Corpus; *illi* only in Pet. and Corpus, which last reads *sagitare.* l. 19

CHAPTER 4.

For H.'s heading, supported by Lond.-Lum., D., A. reads *De moribus Tartarorum bonis et malis, et cibis, et consuetudinibus eorum*; Pet., like Corpus, omits *Tartarorum* and reads *consuetudini*; Colb. omits *bonis...malis*, and *eorum*. The two first sections of this chapter answer to Chaps. 5 and 6 in Vinc. Beauv., *De moribus eorum bonis et malis*, and *De legibus et consuetudinibus eorum*. For Corpus see also Introduction. l. 35

1. *Tertio...quarto*, interchanged by A. l. 39

2. *Inter eos*, H.; *ibidem*, A., with Pet., Colb. p. **51** l. 3

3. *Comedentes...comederunt*, H., with Colb., D.; *comendentes...comederint*, A.; *commedentes...commederint*, Lond.-Lum. l. 14

4. *Inuidi*, H.; *invidiosi*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 17

[p. **26**]

5. *Eas...audiuntur*, H.; *eos...habere intenditur*, A., with Pet.; *se...habere videntur*, Colb. l. 21

p. **51** l. 23 **6.** Before *Nunc*..., A. inserts, with Pet., Colb., *descriptis eorum moribus bonis.*

l. 24 **7.** *Malis moribus eorum*, H.; *malis* [only], A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 25 **8.** *Ideo*, H.; *imo*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 28 **9.** *Georgiae*, H., with D.; *Georgianiae*, A., with Pet.; *Jorganiæ* [*-e*], Colb., Lond.-Lum.; Colb., later, reads *Organiæ* [*-e*], also; Lond.-Lum., *Georgraniae* [*-e*]. For *Russiae* [*-e*] Lond.-Lum. reads *Ruchie* here.

l. 29 **10.** *Duces...Soldanorum*, H.; *ducem...Solangorum*, A.

l. 33 **11.** After *iracundi*, A. adds, with Pet., *sunt hominibus aliis.*

l. 39 **12.** *Praeuidere*, H., with D.; *sibi providere*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *previderi*, Lond.-Lum.

p. **52** l. 12 **13.** After *pediculos manducare* [*pudiculos* in Lond.-Lum.], A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *dicebant enim Numquid eos debeo manducare, cum mei filii carnes manducent et ipsius sanguinem bibunt.* For H.'s *eos...mures*, immed. after, A. reads *ipsos...mures.*

l. 14 **14.** *Et...habent*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *de quibus etiam...manducant*, A., with Pet.

l. 16 **15.** *Tunc manus*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *eas*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 24 **16.** *Caldaria*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *coclearia*, A., with [Pet.], Colb.; Pet. reads *ut* [*c....*] for *vel* in all other MSS.

l. 26 **17.** *Permittatur aliquid*, H.; *aliquo modo permittatur*, A.; *al... m... p...itur*, Pet., Colb.; *permittitur aliquid*, Lond.-Lum.; Pet. adds *periret* before *permittitur.*

l. 29 **18.** *Quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *ab illo tempore quo tonitrua incipiunt usquequo desinat illud tempus*, A., with Pet., Colb.; Colb. reads *quando* for *quo*; Pet. *designat* for *desinat.*

l. 43 **19.** *Fornicata fuerit*, H. and A., with Colb.; Pet. adds *cum aliquo.*

p. **53** l. 2 **20.** *Deundat consilium*, H.; *denunciat consilia*, A.; *denudat*, Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *deundat*, D.

l. 17 **21.** *Exercent*, H., with Colb., Lond.-Lum., D.; *exercitant*, A.

l. 21 **22.** For *agiles...et audaces valde*, A. reads, with Pet., Colb., *agiles...valde... necnon et audaces.*

[p. **27**]

l. 26 **23.** *Conseruarores*, H.; *c...tores*, A., with all MSS.

CHAPTER 5.

l. 32 For H.'s heading, supported by D., wholly wanting in Lond.-Lum., A. reads *De principio imperii Tartarorum et principibus eorum, et dominio imperatoris et principum ejus.* For *imperii...principibus* Pet., like Corpus, reads *imperatorii...principum*; Colb. omits *imperii* and *et principum*, and reads *ejus* for *eorum*, *eorumdem* for *ejus.* The opening part of this chapter answers to Vinc. Beauv. ch. 8, *De initio imperii sive principatus eorum*, and later sections to V. B.'s chs. 9—16, *De mutua victoria ipsorum et Kythaorum, De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem et majorem, Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi Burithabethinos vicerunt, Qualiter a montibus Caspiis et ab hominibus subterraneis repulsi sunt, De statutis Chingis cham et morte ipsius, et filiis ac ducibus, De potestate imperatoris et ducum ejus, De electione imperatoris Occoday et legatione ducis Bathy, De legatione Cyrpodan ducis.* For Corpus see also Introduction.

1. *Dicendum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *subnectendum*, A., with Pet., Colb. p. **53** l. 33

2. *Mongol...Mongali vocabatur*, H., Colb.; *M...al...M...ali vocabantur*, A., with Pet.; [*magni*] *Mongoli* for *Mongali* only in Lond.-Lum.; *Yeka-Mongol* in all MSS. but P., which before reads *quae Moangal nominatur*. l. 38

3. *Sumongol...Merkat...Metrit*, H.; *Su-Mongal*, A., Colb.; *Merkit...Mecrit*, A.; *Summungal*, Pet.; *Merkat...Metrit*, D., Vinc. Beauv.; *Merkit...Mocrit*, Pet.; *Merkit...Mechoit*, Colb.; *Sumongol...Merkit...Mecrit*, Lond.-Lum.; *Mecrit*, D. (at first). l. 39

4. *Fluuio...Tartar*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *fluvio...Tatar*, A., with Colb.; *f... Tartur*, Pet. l. 40

5. *Qui...Cyngis*, H.; *quidam qui...Chingis*, A., with Pet., Colb., which read *Chingis* throughout, like Vinc. Beauv. p. **54** l. 3

6. *Rapere, praedari*, H., with D.; *rapere praedam*, A., with Lond.-Lum.; *capere* Colb. l. 5

7. Before *redegit* A. adds, with Pet., *recepit ac*; Colb., *redigit*. l. 11

8. *Merkat...Metritas*, H., with D.; *Merkitis...Mecritas*, A.; *Merkitis...Mocritas*, Pet.; *Mirkit...Mecritas*, Colb.; *Merkit...Metritas*, Lond.-Lum. As to the names that follow *Naymani...Karakitai...Kytai* are H.'s usual readings; but sometimes he gives *Karakytai*, like Colb; A. reads *Naimani...Karakitai...Kitai*; *Naymanni*, Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *Naimani* and *Naymani*, Pet., D. [Colb., later]; *Kara-kitui*, Pet., in one place, *Kara-kycaorum* in another; also *Caicaorum*. For *Omyl* in H. and A., Colb. reads *Cummyl*, Pet. *Omsi*, Vinc. Beauv. *Chanyl*. l. 12

9. *Aliquantam...discretionem*, H.; *sed tantam dis...em habent quod faciunt filtra de lana camelorum quibus vestiuntur, et ponunt etiam contra ventum, et si aliqui Tartari vadunt ad eos et vulnerant eos sagittis, ponunt gramina in vulneribus et fortiter fugiunt ante eos*, A., with Pet., Corpus, Colb., and Vinc. Beauv.; Colb. reads *tamen* for *sed*, *aliquando* for *aliqui*, *vulnus* for *vulneribus*; Pet. and Corpus read *manus* for *vulnus*. l. 36

10. After *septem*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus and Vinc. Beauv. [in part], *unde adhuc quando aliquis eos minatur, dicens, Occidemini, si in illam iveritis terram, quia populi multitudo ibidem moratur et sunt homines ad prælium apti; respondent, Quondam etiam fuimus occisi, et non remansimus nisi septem, et modo crevimus* [*ibi*, Corpus] *in multitudinem magnam; quare de talibus non terremur* [*teneremur*, Corpus]. p. **55** l. 1

11. *Huyrorum*, H., with Vinc. Beauv.; *Huytorum*, D.; *Huiurorum*, A.; *Kytaorum*, corrected from *Hiyrorum*, Lond.-Lum., which afterwards reads *Kytaorum* for *H...m*; P. reads *Kuiorum*; Colb., *Uirorum*. For H.'s *Saruiuorum* (D. also), A. reads *Sari-Huiur*; Pet. *Sariemiur* and later *Sarihuiur*; Vinc. Beauv. *Saruyur*; Colb. *Sarimur*; Lond.-Lum. *Saruinorum*. l. 4

12. *Karauitarum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Colb. [*C...*]; *Karanitarum*, A., with Colb. and Vinc. Beauv.; *Karatnitarum*, Pet., which reads later *Karaniti*. l. 8

13. *Voyrat*, H. and A., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Udryat*, Pet.; Colb. reads *Noyrad*, Vinc. Beauv. *Hudirat*. l. 9

14. For *Comana* [in H. and A., with Lond.-Lum., D.], Pet. reads *Chanana* [*Comana*, later], Colb. *Canana*.

15. For *Kytaos* and *Kitaos* in H. and A., Pet. reads *Kaicaos*; Vinc. Beauv. *Kythaos*. l. 11

[p. **28**]

16. *Simili modo*, H.; *eodem modo etiam contra eos*, A., with Pet. l. 25

17. Before *Imperator* [H.], A. inserts *praedictus Chingis Can*, with Pet. l. 30

p. **55** l. 40 **18.** *Ecclesias* [*faciunt*], H., with D., *elemosynas* [*f.*...], A., with Lond.-Lum. [Pet., Colb., *e...sinas*].

p. **56** l. 5 **19.** *Tossuch*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Tossuc*, A.; *Thosut* [later *Tossut*], Vinc. Beauv.; *Cossus*, Pet. [later, *Cosuc*]; Colb. also reads *Tossuc*; Lond.-Lum. *Tossuchean*, later.

l. 21 **20.** *De fumo illo aer est denigratus*, H.; *ex igne graeco homines comburebantur* [*homines*] *et equi et ex fumo aer*...etc., A., with Pet., Corpus.

l. 26 **21.** After *in qua*, A. inserts, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv. [in part], *sicut nobis venientibus ad curiam Imperatoris per clericos ruthenos* [*tuthenes*, Pet., Corpus] *et alios qui diu fuerunt inter ipsos firmiter dicebatur.*

l. 29 **22.** *Vero formam*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *autem speciem*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 33 **23.** *Mouebantur*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *volvebantur*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 40 **24.** After *finibus suis*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv., *et dehinc* [*de hoc*, Corpus] *adhuc est proverbium inter eos, Pater tuus, vel frater, a canibus fuit occisus: mulieres autem eorum quas ceperant duxerunt in terram eorum, et usque in diem mortis earum ibidem fuerunt.* In next sentence, after *exercitus ille* [H.], A. inserts, with Pet., Corpus, *Videlicet Mongalorum* [*Mongolorum*].

p. **57** l. 1 **25.** After *comedunt eum*, A. adds, with Pet., *sicut nobis dicebatur pro certo.*

l. 2 **26.** *Immo*, H. with Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *imo*, A. [and elsewhere].

l. 6 **27.** *Misit in* [*expeditione contra...Kergis*], H., with D.; *ivit in*..., A., with Lond.-Lum.; *ivit cum*, Pet., Colb.

l. 7 **28.** *Et vsque*, H.; *et, ut nobis dicebatur, ibidem usque*, A., with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv.

l. 8 **29.** *Montes...illi*, H; A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv., *in ea parte ad quam applicuerunt*; Colb. reads *admantino.*

l. 10 **30.** For *conclusos...qui...fregerunt; sed nubes*, A. reads, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv., *conclusi clamorem exercitus, ut creditur, audientes, montem frangere inceperunt; et cum alio tempore post x annos reverterentur, montem invenerunt* [*invenirent*, Corpus] *confractum: sed cum ad illos Tartari accedere attentassent, potuerunt minime, quia nubes* etc. Colb. reads *fregerant.*

l. 11 **31.** *Ad quam accedere*, H., with Colb.; *ultra quam ire*, A., with Pet.

l. 12 **32.** *Moriebantur*, H.; *visum amittebant omnino*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 13 **33.** Before *Sed antequam*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv. [in part], *Illi autem ex adverso credentes quod Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insultum contra eos fecerunt; sed statim ut* [*non*, Pet., *cum*, Corpus] *pervenerunt ad nubem, procedere non potuerunt propter causam praetaxatam.*

[p. **20**]

l. 28 **34.** After *Cyngis...videlicet et sui* [H.]—*Chingis*, A., with Pet., Corpus, Colb.—A. adds, with Pet. and Vinc. Beauv., *videntes quod nichil proficerent sed potius perderent homines suos et quia etiam solis sonitum sustinere non poterant, imo eo tempore quo sol oriebatur oportebat eos ponere unam aurem ad terram et superiorem obturare fortiter ne terribilem illum sonitum audirent, nec sic tamen cavere poterant quin propter hoc ex eis plurimi necarentur* [*vocaverunt*, Pet., Corpus; *interirent*, Vinc. Beauv.].

35. *Fugam ineuntes*, H.; *f... inicientes*, Colb.; *fugerunt ac* [*ad*, Pet.], A.

l. 29 **36.** *Scilicet et mulierem*, H.; *videlicet cum uxore*, A., with Pet.; *videlicet et mulierem*, Colb.

l. 39 **37.** *Ex hoc...ab eo*, H.; *ideo...a Chingis*, A., with Pet.; Colb. adds *Can.*

38. *Ipsius Cuynch*, H., with D.; *istius Cuyuc Can*, A.; *Cuyuc Chan*, Pet., later *Cuyut*; *istius Kayu*(or *Kayn*)*chan*, Colb., later *Cuyac*; *ipsius Ciryuch*, Lond.-Lum., later *Cuyuch*; D. later, *Cuyne*; *Cuyuc* always in Vinc. Beauv. p. **58** l. 3

39. *Occisionis eorum*, H.; *interfectionis eorum*, A., who then inserts, with Corpus and Pet., *quadraginta duobus siquidem annis pugnaverunt et ante decem et octo annis debent regnare; post haec, ut dicunt, ab alia natione, tamen nesciunt quae sit illa* [*debent devinci*]. l. 8

40. [*Debent*] *enim occidi*, H. with Colb.; *devinci*, A., with Pet.

41. *Prophetatum*, H. with Colb.; *vaticinatum*, A., with Pet. l. 9

42. After *decanos*, A. inserts, with Pet., Colb., *et tenebras, id est, decem milia* [*LX M.*, Lond.-Lum.]. l. 12

43. After *ordinari*, A. adds, with Pet., *multa etiam alia statuit de quibus longum est enarrare, et nos etiam ignoramus.*

44. *Occoday*, H. and A.; *Occaday*, Colb.; *Occodai*, Pet. l. 14

45. *Thaaday*, H.; *Chyaaday*, A., with Pet.; *Caaday*, Lond.-Lum., Colb., which last reads *Kaday* later; *Thiaday*, Vinc. Beauv. l. 15

46. *Isti quatuor...Occoday Cuyne*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Vinc. Beauv. [here]; *Cuyac*, Colb.; *ab his quatuor omnes duces Mongalorum descenderunt. Primus videlicet Occoday Can; hos filios habet; primus est Cuyuc*, A., with Pet., Corpus. Elsewhere, and in the MSS. of the *Miroir historial*, Vinc. Beauv. reads *Cuyuc.*

47. *Cocthen*, H., with D. [later *Cuthen*]; *Cocten*, A., with Pet.; *Corten*, Colb. [later *Cuccen*]; *Coithen*, Lond.-Lum. [later *Cuthen*]. Avezac credits D. with reading *Coethen*, but it appears to give *Cocthen*, as H. prints. l. 18

48. *Cyrenen*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D. [later *Syrennen*]; *Chirenen*, A., with Pet., Colb. [Colb. later *Syrenen*]; *Chyrenen*, Vinc. Beauv. [*Sirenen*, Pet., Lond.-Lum., later].

49. *Bati*, H. and A.; *Batu*, Colb., occas.; *Bacu* and *Bay*, Pet. l. 19

50. *Bercuthanth*, H., with D.; *Berca, Thaut*, A.; *Bercathauth*, Lond.-Lum.; *Berca, Thauhe*, Pet.; *Berca, Charec*, Colb. l. 21

51. *Chadan*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Cadan*, A., with Pet.; *Kadan*, Colb. Later, H. reads *Cathan*, A. *Cadan.* l. 23

52. *Becas*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Bichac*, A., with Pet.; *Bethac*, Colb.; *Bithat*, Vinc. Beauv. l. 27

53. *Cathan, Syban, Bureth*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Cadan, S...*, *Burin et Buigec*, A.;...*Dinget*, Pet.; *Buryn, Cadon, Siban, Buyget*, Colb.; *Hurin, Cadan, Siban, Ouygat*, Vinc. Beauv. l. 30

54. *Cyrpodan*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Chirpodan*, A., with Pet.; *Chyrpodan*, Colb. [later, *Cirpodan*]. l. 31

55. *Soldanum Damasci*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *soldanos* [*solidanos*, Pet.] *quosdam terrae Saracenorum et alios qui sunt ultra mare*, A., with Pet., Corpus, which last reads *Soldanos...Sarracenorum.*

56. *Mangu*, H. [who later reads *Mengu*], with D.; *Mengu*, A., with Colb. [later *Menga*], Vinc. Beauv.; Pet. reads *Metigu* [later sometimes *Mongal*]; Lond.-Lum., *Mongu.* l. 32

57. *Hybilay*, H., with Lond.-Lum.; *Hubilay*, A., with Pet.; *Hibilay*, D.; *Hubilai*, Colb.

58. *Seremum*, H. and A., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Sirenum*, Pet., Colb. l. 33

59. *Synocur*, H., with D.; *Sinocur*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *Synotur*, Lond.-Lum.

60. *Thuatamur*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Thuatemur*, A.; *Thuacemur*, Pet.; *Thuatenyr*, Colb.

p. **58** l. 33 **61.** *Cyragay*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Karachay*, A.; *Caragai*, Pet.; *Karanchay*, Colb.; *Cara, Gay*, Vinc. Beauv.

62. *Sybedey*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Sibedei*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 34 **63.** *Mauci*, H., A., with Lond.-Lum.; *Maney*, D.; *Monty*, Pet.; *Mouey*, Colb.

64. *Choranca*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Corenza*, A.; *Corcenia*, Pet., later, *Corenza*; *Karancha, Karanchay*, Colb.; *Correnza*, Vinc. Beauv.

l. 39 **65.** After *maneant duces*, A. adds, with Pet., Colb., *duces vero assignant millenariis loca.*

l. 40 **66.** *Decanis*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *decenariis*, A., with Pet.

p. **59** l. 5 **67.** *Ei...subdititios*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *eis...subductitios*, A.; *suductitios*, Pet.; *subdicios*, Colb.

l. 15 **68.** *Nationibus*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *majoribus*, A., with Pet., Colb.

69. *Exiguntur*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *petuntur*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 16 **70.** *Daretur*, H., with D.; *dantur*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum.

[p. **30**]

l. 37 **71.** *Sicut volunt*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *secundum beneplacitum suum*, A., with Pet., Colb. For H.'s *Altisoldanum...Biserminorum* Lond.-Lum. reads *terram Altisoldani...Bisserminarum.*

p. **60** l. 1 **72.** *Quae Barthra dicitur*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *nomine Barchin*, A., with Vinc. Beauv.; *Karachin*, Pet. [later *Barchin*, and so Vinc. Beauv.]; *Karkyn*, Colb.

l. 5 **73.** *Iakint*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Iakynt*, Colb.; *Ianckint*, A.; *Sakinc*, Pet.; *Sarguit*, Vinc. Beauv.

l. 9 **74.** *Orna*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Vinc. Beauv.; *Ornas*, A., with Pet.; *Ornac*, Colb. [*Orpar*, Pet., later].

l. 13 **75.** *Fluuium qui vocatur Don*, H., with Lond.-Lum., Colb., D.; *fluvium quendam qui currit per Ianckint et terram Biserminorum*, A., with Pet.; *quendam magnum fluvium*, Vinc. Beauv.

l. 18 **76.** *Tortorum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Turcorum*, A., with Pet.; *Toycorum*, Colb.

77. *Similiter*, H., with D., obviously wrong; A. omits, like Lond.-Lum.

l. 21 **78.** *Kiouiam*, H. and A.; *Kiomam*, Pet.; *Kyoniam*, Colb.; *Kyoviam* Lond.-Lum.

l. 23 **79.** After *ciuitatis*, A. reads, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv. [in part], *unde quando per terram illam ibamus, inveniebamus innumerabilia capita et ossa hominum mortuorum super campum jacere; fuerat enim civitas valde magna et nimium populosa: et nunc quasi in nichilum reducta* [*redacta*, Corpus] *est: vix* [*vix enim*, Corpus] *ducentae domus sunt ibi, modo et illi homines tenentur in maxima servitute.*

p. **61** l. 7 **80.** *Et faciem per omnia*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Corpus; *et humanum caput habebant, sed faciem*, etc. A., with Pet., Corpus.

[p. **31**]

l. 25 **81.** *Remouendo se quasi rota*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Colb.; *revolvendo se quasi in circulo: istos autem Ysidorus Ciclopedes appellavit*, A., with Pet., and Vinc. Beauv.; *revolv...rota*, Colb.

l. 28 **82.** *Georgiae*, H., with D.; *etiam Georgianiae*, A., with Pet.; *Georgranie*, Lond.-Lum.; *Jeorgiane*, Colb.

83. *Deurum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Colb., Vinc. Beauv.; *de Urum*, A., with Pet. p. **61** l. 31

84. *Halapiae*, H. and A., with D., Vinc. Beauv.; *Alapiae*, Pet.; *Danifessi*, Lond.-Lum.; *Damasci*, Colb. l. 33

85. *Impugnant*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Corpus, *obtinent et alias terras ultra illas proponunt impugnare*, A., with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv. [*optinent*, Pet., Corpus].

86. *Alius*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *idem*, A., with Pet. and Vinc. Beauv. l. 35

87. *Baldach*, H. and A.; *Balday*, Colb.; *Baldac*, Pet.

88. *Quadraginta bisantia*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *quadringentos bisancios*, A., with Pet. l. 36

CHAPTER 6.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in pręlijs, H., with D.; wanting in Lond.-Lum.; *De bello et ordinatione acierum, et armis, et astuciis in congressione, et oppugnatione munitionum, et perfidia eorum in eos qui se reddunt eis, et crudelitate in captivos*, A., mostly with Pet. which, like Corpus, reads *et congregatione* for *in congressione*, and *captivorum* for *in captivos*, and has slightly different order; Colb. reads *crud...e quam faciunt de capt...is* and *castrorum et civitatum* for *munitionum*, also with slight differences of order. This chapter corresponds to ch. 17 in Vinc. Beauv. which has same title as H., D. here. For Corpus see also Introduction. p. **62** l. 1

In the recital of headings which follows, H. makes six, with all the MSS.; A. five only.

1. *Expercitui*, H.; *exercitui*, A., with Lond.-Lum., which also reads *cunto*; *expercitur*, D. l. 13

2. *Omnes*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Colb.; *acies*, A., with Pet.; Colb. omits. l. 14

3. After *omnes occiduntur*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, Lond.-Lum., *et si omnes decem fugiunt, nisi fugiant alii centum, omnes occiduntur.* l. 16

4. *Audacter*, H., Lond.-Lum., D.; *audaciter*, A. l. 17

5. *Duo* [*arcus*], H.; *arma autem ista ad minus omnes debent habere; duos* [*arcus*], A., with Pet., Corpus, Colb. l. 20

6. After *trahendas*, H. reads *habere debet unusquisque*, with D.; A. omits, with Lond.-Lum. l. 22

7. *Loricas quidam habent de corio*, H., with Colb.; A. reads, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv., *quidam loricas et etiam co-operturam equorum.* l. 25

8. After *boue*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *vel alio animali.* l. 27

9. *Quam partem ducunt*, H., with D.; *quae protenduntur*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum. l. 33

10. Before *ad crurium*, A. adds with Pet., Corpus, *ad genua vel usque*; omitted by H., Lond.-Lum., D. l. 38

11. *Super humeros* [*retro*], H.; A. omits *s... h...*, with Pet., Corpus, Colb. p. **63** l. 3

12. *Aliam peciam*, H., with all MSS. (Corpus included), but Colb.; *illam peciam*, A., with Colb. l. 4

13. [*Inferius...*] *aptae*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Colb.; [*inf....*] *apertae*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 9

14. *Vtroque*, H.; *unoquoque*, A., with Pet., Colb.

15. After *ferrea*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *vel de chalybe* [*calibe*]. l. 11

[p. **32**]

p. **63** l. 21 **16.** After *corrigiolam vnam* A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, and Vinc. Beauv. [in part], *quae duplicatur ex utraque parte et consuitur cum una corrigiola.*

l. 22 **17.** [*Cohaereant*] *sibi*, H.; [*c...t*] *simul*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *conhereant*, Pet.

l. 27 **18.** *Fine* [*ferri*], H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *collo* [*f...i*], A., with Pet.

p. **64** l. 3 **19.** After *accipiunt et occidunt* [H.], A.'s *capiunt vel occidunt*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *Nichilominus tamen principes exercitus ex omni parte mittunt precones post hoc ad inveniendum homines et munita, qui valde sagaces sunt ad querendum.*

l. 23 **20.** *Retro gradiuntur*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; *r... regrediuntur*, A., with Pet.

l. 40 **21.** *Contra faciem equorum*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Colb.; *c... f... inimicorum*, A., with Pet., Colb.

p. **65** l. 6 **22.** *Fictos*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *fictitios*, A., with Colb.; *futicios*, Pet.

l. 12 **23.** After *vulnerant et occidunt*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *et cum jam homines et equi sunt debilitati sagittis, tunc congrediuntur cum eis.*

l. 14 **24.** *Expugnant* [*fortissime*], H., with D.; *et pugnant* [*f....*], A.; *expungnant*, Lond.-Lum.

[p. **33**]

l. 21 **25.** After *inextinguibiliter ardet*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *extingui tamen potest, ut dicitur, cum vino vel cervesia superfusa; et, si super carnem ceciderit, confricatione palmae manus* [*magnus*, Pet., Corpus] *potest extingui.*

CHAPTER 7.

p. **66** l. 3 For H.'s *De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt*, supported by D., A. reads *Quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem et de terrarum nominibus quas subjugaverunt et de terris quae eis restiterunt, et de tyrannide quam exercent in hominibus suis.* This reading is supported with very small variations by Pet., Colb.; Corpus omits *cum* [*hominibus*] and reads *restituerunt*; Lond.-Lum. has nothing here. In Vinc. Beauv. this chapter does not exist at all in any form. For Corpus see also Introduction.

l. 7 **1.** In headings A. interchanges *tertio* and *quarto*. H.'s reading is supported by all the MSS. For H.'s *tyrannide...in eis*, supported by Lond.-Lum., D. [*t... in eos*, Pet., Colb.], A. reads *t... in hominibus suis.*

l. 20 **2.** *Saracenorum...Cuynth*, H., with D.; *unus Saracenus...Cuyuc*, A., with Pet.; *Cuyno*, Colb.; *Cuinth*, Lond.-Lum.

l. 30 **3.** *Zabulum*, H.; *nigrum zabulum*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *sab...m*, Pet.

l. 32 **4.** *Illit*, H., with D.; *iitis*, A.; *illic*, Lond.-Lum. For H.'s *Tentonice*, Lond.-Lum. reads *Teutonice.*

l. 33 **5.** *Dochon*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *dochori*, A., with Colb.; *dorcori*, Pet., Corpus; really the *chorek* of Russians, *chorz* of Poles, *chor* of Bohemians and Slovaks; *tkore* of Serbs, *dihur* of Carniola Slavs.

p. **67** l. 5 **6.** *Alliciunt, quos permittunt*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Colb.; *ut alliceant alios, dimittunt*, A., with Pet.

l. 13 **7.** After *quodam* and before *Solangorum*, A. inserts *duce*, with Pet., Colb.; *Salangorum*, Pet.; *Salongorum*, Lond.-Lum.

8. *Baschathos*, H. and A.; *bastacos*, Pet.; *bascatos*, Colb., later *Bascaky*; *baschatos*, D. After *b...os*, A. adds, with Pet., *sive praefectos*. p. **67** l. 14

9. [*Baschathi*] *imponunt*, H., with D.; [*b...*] *opponunt*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *inponunt*, Lond.-Lum. l. 17

10. After *cum* and before *in terra Tartarorum*, A. inserts *adhuc*, with Pet., Colb. l. 22

[p. **34**]

11. *Quod ipsummet*, H., with D.; *quam ipsimet*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *quod ipsimet*, Lond.-Lum. l. 23

12. After *et quando libet*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, Colb., *et quantum placet, absque ulla conditione petunt et accipiunt. Insuper si sunt aliqua placita inter illos principes qui reddiderunt se ipsis, oportet ut* [*quod*, Colb.]. l. 27

13. *Melic*, H. and A.; *Melio*, Pet., which later reads *Melic*; *Melit*, Lond.-Lum.; *Melis*, Colb. l. 31

14. *Bysantiorum*, H.; *bysanciorum*, A.; *bisancium*, Pet., Lond.-Lum., Colb. p. **68** l. 9

15. *Rebellare*, H. and all MSS.; *debellare*, A. l. 10

16. *Comania*, H.; *Comana*, A., with Pet., which before (ch. 5) read *Chanana*; *Canana*, Colb. l. 13

17. *Voyrat*, H. and A.; *Uiccat*, Pet., which before read *Udryat*.

18. *Caraniti*, H., with D.; *K...niti*, A., with Pet.; *Karauiti*, Colb.; *Caranici*, Lond.-Lum. l. 14

19. *Huyur*, H. and A.; *Huyurc*, Pet.; *Vini*, Colb.

20. *Soboal*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Sumongal*, A.; *Sumoal*, Pet., Colb.

21. *Meniti*, H., with D.; *Mecriti*, A., with Colb.; *Vietrici*, Pet.; *Menici*, Lond.-Lum.

22. *Baryhryur*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Sarihuiur*, A., with Pet.; *Sarihuyur*, Colb.

23. *Gosmit*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Casmir*, A.; *Cosmir*, Pet., Colb.

24. *Bisermini*, *Turcomani*, H., A.; *Beseremynitur Cumany*, Pet., Corpus; *Bissermini*, *Turcomanni*, Colb. l. 15

25. *Byleri*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Bileri*, *id est*, A., with Colb.; *Bylery*, Pet.

26. *Baschare* [*magna Hungaria*], H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Baschart*, *id est* [*magna*], A., with Pet., Colb.

27. *Kergis*, H., A. and all MSS., exc. Pet. which reads *Tergis*. l. 16

28. *Colona*, *Thorati*, H., with D.: *Corola*, *Comuci*, A.; *Catoracomuty*, Pet.; *Korola Tomici*, Colb.; *Coloua Thoraty*, Lond.-Lum.

29. *Buritabeth*, H. and A., with D.; *Buritabet*, Colb.; *Bircithobec*, Pet.; *Burycobeth*, Lond.-Lum.

30. *Parossiti*, H. and A.; *Parassiti*, Lond.-Lum.; *Porosyti*, Colb.; *Paressm*, Pet.

31. *Sassi*, H., with D.; *Cassi*, A., with Pet., Colb., Lond.-Lum. l. 17

32. *Iacobiti*, H., A.; *Jacobitae*, Lond.-Lum., Colb.; Pet. omits.

33. *Assi*, H., A.; *Assy*, Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *Assio*, Pet., which follows this with *Besi* for *Obesi*.

34. *Nestoriani*, H., A.; *Uestoriae*, Pet.

35. *Cangiti*, H., A.; *Cangit*, Colb.; *Cangyt*, Lond.-Lum.; [*Armeni*]*kangit*, Pet. l. 18

36. *Brutachi*, H., A.; *Brucharchi*, Pet.; *Bruchathy*, Lond.-Lum.

37. *Torci*, H., with D.; *Turci*, A.; *Torti*, Pet.; *Corcy*, Colb.; *Torcy*,

p. **68** Lond.-Lum. Earlier, Pet. gave *Turcorum*; Colb. *Toycorum*; the rest of the MSS. *Tortorum*.

l. 19 **38.** *Samogedi*, H., A.; *Samogey*, Lond.-Lum.; *Samoyegi*, Colb.

39. *Thoas*, H., with D.; *Tarci*, A., with Pet.; *Thaos*, Lond.-Lum.; *Tati*, Colb.

l. 20 **40.** *Yrchasi*, H., with D.; *Circasi*, A., with Pet.; *Circassy*, Colb.; *Yrchasy*, Lond.-Lum.

41. *Rutheni*, H., A.; *Cucheni*, Pet.; *Ruteni*, Colb.

42. *Baldach*, H., A.; *Baldas*, Pet.; *Baldac*, Colb.; *Baldahc*, Lond.-Lum.

43. *Sarthi*, H., with D.; *Sarti*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *Sarthy*, Lond.-Lum.

l. 25 **44.** *Sayi*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *Saxi*, A.; *Saxa*, Pet.; *Sacxi*, Colb.

l. 27 **45.** *Contra machinas*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *propter m...*, A., with Pet., Colb.

l. 39 **46.** After *horreis dominorum*, A. inserts, mainly with Pet., Corpus, *suorum: dimittunt tamen eis semina, et quantum ipsis competenter sufficiat* [*sufficit*, Pet., Corpus] *pro expensis: aliis autem.*

l. 40 **47.** After *vnum pondus*, A. inserts, with Pet., Corpus, *de pane.*

l. 43 **48.** After *dominis placet*, A. inserts, with Pet., Corpus, *cum uxoribus et filiis.*

p. **69** l. 17 **49.** *Vidi eos ire...bracis*, H.; *vidimus eos...braccis pelliceis...ire*, A., mostly with Colb., which reads *Vidi*; *brachiis*, P.

CHAPTER 8.

[p. **35**]

l. 23 For H.'s heading *Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris*, supported by D. [wanting in Lond.-Lum.], A. reads *Q... b... occ... T...is, et quod intendunt, et de armis et ordinatione acierum, et quomodo occurratur eorum astitiis in pugna, et munitione castrorum et civitatum, et quid faciendum est de captivis*, mostly with Pet., Colb.; but Pet. reads *captaris occurratur et quod attendunt* for *occ... T...is...intendunt*; Corp. reads *Tartaris* and *attendunt*; Colb. reads *congressione* for *pugna*, with a few minor differences. This chapter answers to ch. 18 in Vinc. Beauv., *Qualiter resistendum sit eis.* For Corpus, see also Introduction.

l. 37 **1.** [*Excepta Christianitate...*] *timent*, H.; *ipsi non teneant*, A.; *ipsi teneant*, Pet.; *quam timeant*, Colb. A little later Hak.'s *imperatorem...Chan* is omitted by Pet, Corpus.

p. **70** l. 7 **2.** *Faciendum est*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D., Colb.; *faciendum esse nobis videtur*, A., mostly with Pet.; *est* in all MSS.

l. 14 **3.** After *omnes milites*, A. adds, with Pet., *et honestos viros*; Colb. reads *et omnes milites honestos.*

l. 18 **4.** *Multitudine*, H., with Colb.; *multimode*, A., with Pet.

l. 19 **5.** After *sed postea*, A. adds, with Colb., *pungunt*; after *per Poloniam* [om. Colb.], A. adds, with Pet., *ut nobis dicebatur*; for *veniunt* A. reads *venient*, with Pet.

l. 26 **6.** After *in Martio*, A. reads, with Pet., Corpus, *praeterito exercitum invenimus indictum per omnes Tartaros per quos transivimus ad terram Rusciae*, instead of *An. Dom. 1247, si de terra sua mouebunt*, H., with all MSS. but Pet., Corpus; for *1247* Colb. reads *preterito*; *se...movebant* or *moverunt*, A. gives as reading of Lond.-Lum., D., Colb. [really *moverunt*, Lond.-Lum., etc.]

l. 29 **7.** After *annotatas*, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, Colb., *ignoramus tamen* [v.l. *cum*] *utrum incontinenti post terciam hyemem veniant, vel ad tempus adhuc expectent, ut melius venire possunt* [*possint*, Colb.] *ex improviso.*

8. *Tunc pro certo*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *pugnando*, A., with Pet., Colb. p. **70** l. 31

9. *De nouo* [again, after *iterum*], H.; A. omits, with Pet. l. 34

10. *Adhoc*, H.; *adhuc*, A.; Pet. omits; *ex hoc*, Colb. l. 35

11. *Ore suo*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *proprio ore*, A.; *ore suo proprio*, Colb.; *propriore ore*, Pet. l. 36

12. *Et Prussiam*, H., with D.; *et Prusciam*, A., with Colb.; *e Prusciam*, Pet.; *et Pruciam*, Lond.-Lum.

13. *Si* [*autem*], H.; *sin* [*autem*], A., with Colb. p. **71** l. 2

14. *In concubinas*, H., with D.; *et concubinis*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *in concubinis* Lond.-Lum. l. 6

15. After *resistere eis*, A. adds, with Pet., *sicut nobis videtur, nisi Deus velit pugnare pro ipsis.* l. 9

16. [*Tria*] *millia*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; A. omits *millia*, with Pet. l. 17

17. After *millia hominum*, A. adds, with Pet., *aut plures.* l. 18

18. *Contra*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *circa*, A., with Pet., Colb.

19. *Et scutum*, H., with D.; *vel securim*, A., with Pet., Corpus, Colb.; *et securim*, Lond.-Lum. Just after this Corpus reads *feramenta sagittorum.* l. 23

[p. **36**]

20. For H.'s *illos* [*eorum sagittae*] A. reads with Pet. *illas de facili*: in Colb. *illas* only. l. 28

21. *De armis et sagittis*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *de arcubus vel de balistis*, A., with Colb.; *arcubus vel balistis*, Pet., Corpus. l. 31

22. *Quoniam* [*comparent*], H.; *quin* [*com...ent*], A., with Colb.; *quando* [*com...ant*], Pet. l. 32

23. *Nec* [*duces*], H.; *non intrant* [*d....*], A., with Pet., Colb. l. 36

24. *Possunt* [*intrare*], H., with D., Pet.; *possint* [*i....*], A., with Colb., Lond.-Lum. p. **72** l. 6

25. *Nec...multum*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *non...nimis*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 8

26. *Post* [*veniunt*], H.; *primo* [*v....*], A., with Pet., Colb. l. 9

27. *Tartari...vigilant vt possint*, H.; *T.... v.... ut videant quomodo possint*, A., with Pet., Colb. l. 42

28. *Sagittas, et*, H.; *tam segetes quam*, A., with Pet., Corpus; *tam sagittas quam* [*alia arma*], Colb. p. **73** l. 1

29. After *comburere*, A. adds, with Colb., *vel fortiter occultare.* l. 4

30. Before *castrum furari*, A. inserts, with Pet., *Tartari.* l. 11

31. Before *illas...in mensura*, A. inserts, with Pet., Colb., *expensas et*; *expensas et illa*, Colb. l. 13

32. *Eos...oportet...inclusos*, H., with Lond.-Lum., D.; *ipsos* [*eos*, Colb.]... *oporteat...conclusos*, A., with Colb.; *inclusos* in all but Colb.; *ipsos...oporteat*, Pet. l. 14

33. *Quum enim...tunc multis*, H., with D.; *Quia quando ipsi...multis*, A., with Pet.; *quia cum*, Colb.; *quando enim*, Lond.-Lum.

34. *Foueis profundis munitis*, H., with D.; *f.... p.... muratis*, A., with Colb., Lond.-Lum.; *foveis muratis et muratis*, Pet., Corpus: l. 20

[p. **37**]

35. After *civitatibus* and before *claudant*, A. adds, with Pet., Colb., *et castris*, reading *se in civitatibus et castris claudant.* l. 30

p. **73** l. 36 **36.** [*Pecunia magna*] *redimantur*, H., with all MSS. but Pet.; [*p.... m....*] *daretur pro eis*, A., with Pet., Corpus.

l. 38 **37.** *Forma...fuit expressa*, H., with D.; *de forma...est expressum*, A., with Pet., Colb.; *forma...sit expressum*, Lond.-Lum.

p. **74** l. 3 **38.** After the end of Hakluyt's text [*...aduersarij manifesti*], where also MSS. Lond.-Lum., D., Colb. finish, A. adds, with Pet., Corpus, *haec autem quae superius scripta sunt ut illi qui viderunt et audierunt tantum duximus referendum* [*diximus referendo*, Pet.], *non ut instruamus discretos qui per exercitum pugnae bellorum noverint astucias: credimus enim quod multa* [*nulla* Pet.] *meliora et utiliora cogitabunt* [*c...ant*, Pet.] *et facient illi qui ad hoc prudentes sunt et instructi; poterunt tamen, per illa quae superius dicta sunt, habere de eis occasionem et materiam cogitandi. Scriptum est enim, audiens sapiens* [om. Pet.] *sapientior erit et intelligens gubernacula possidebit.*

CARPINI, text 2, from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*; Hakluyt's Reprint, pp. 37—53 of the original edition of 1598—1600, compared with the 1474 Augsburg edition of Vincent, book 31 (*tricesimus primus*), which both Hakluyt and the Old French version of Vincent, called *Miroir historial*, make book 32.

CHAPTER 2.

l. 22 **1.** *Innocentius IIII.*, H.; *idem*, V.B.

l. 23 **2.** *Ascelinum*, H.; *Anshelmum*, V.B.

l. 33 **3.** [*Iohannes*]*...carpini*, H.; *...Campi alias de Plano Carpi*, V.B.

CHAPTER 3.

p. **75** l. 10 For H.'s heading, *...Carpini*, V.B. reads *Carpi*.

l. 13 **1.** *Kythaorum*, H.; *leytaorum*, V.B.

l. 15 **2.** *Huynorum*, H.; *Huyzorum alias Hurnorum*, V.B.

[p. **88**]

l. 23 **3.** *Syram*, H.; *Syriam*, V.B.

CHAPTER 4.

p. **76** l. 20 **1.** *Buccaramo*, H.; *buccaranno*, V.B.

p. **77** l. 5 **2.** *Brodium*, H.; *prodium*, V.B.

CHAPTER 5.

l. 22 **1.** *Sufferentes*, H.; *sufficientes*, V.B.

[p. **89**]

l. 33 **2.** *Russię*, H.; *Rustie*, V.B.

l. 38 **3.** After *indignantis naturae*, V.B. inserts *viles*.

CHAPTER 6.

p. **78** l. 27 **1.** *Baty*, H.; *Baton*, V.B.

l. 31 **2.** [*At ille*] *paruo*, H.; *...puero*, V.B.

CHAPTER 7.

[p. **40**]

1. *Iterum* [*si quis calcat*], H.; *item*... V.B. p. **79** l. 39
2. After *aliquis a fulgure*, V.B. inserts *et tempestate*. p. **80** l. 16
3. [*A nullo*] *tanguntur*...*hominibus*, H.; *tangi permittitur*...*omnibus*, V.B. l. 19

CHAPTER 8.

1. *Yeka*, H.; *Yka alias Yeka*, V.B. l. 28
2. *Furari*...*praedam capere*, H.; *furta et praeda capere*, V.B. l. 36
3. *Captiuabat*, H.; *capiebat*, V.B. l. 37
4. [*Contra*] *Merkatas*, H.; ...*Merkitas*, V.B. p. **81** l. 2
5. *Ad inuicem* [*diuisi*], H.; *ab invicem*..., V.B. l. 9
6. *Chingi*, H.; *Chingis*, V.B. l. 10
7. [*Qui euadere*] *non* [*potuerunt*], H.; V.B. omits *non*. l. 16
8. *Chanyl*, H.; *Chanay*, V.B. l. 19

CHAPTER 9.

[p. **41**]

1. Before *intrauerunt* and after *eorum terram*, V.B. inserts *moverunt et*. l. 30
2. *Eorum Imperator*, H.; *imperator Kythaorum*, V.B. l. 31
3. *Minatur* [*aliquis*], H.; *minaretur*..., V.B. l. 35
4. [*Terram*] *Huyrorum*, H.; .. *Huyorum*, V.B. p. **82** l. 2
5. *Et hos etiam*...*deuicerunt*, H.; *ad hos et*...*diverterunt*, V.B. l. 3
6. *Saruyur*...*terram Karanitarum*, H.; *Sarhuyur*...*terram Karatmarum*, V.B. l. 6
7. *Chingischam*, H.; *Chingis tam*, V.B.; [later, *Chingista*]. l. 14

CHAPTER 10.

1. *Thosut*, H.; *Thossuc*, V.B. p. **83** l. 5
2. [*Ad ipsos*] *vltra redierint*, H.; ...*postea redierunt*, V.B. l. 25

CHAPTER 11.

[p. **42**]

1. [*Glacie super eos*] *depressata*, H.; ...*densata*, V.B. p. **84** l. 5

CHAPTER 12.

1. *Dimisit* [*alios exercitus*], H.; *divisit*..., V.B. l. 26
2. *Applicauerunt* [*de lapide Adamantino*], H.; *applicuerunt*..., V.B. l. 30
3. *Vias quidem tritas*, H.; *vias strictas*, V.B. p. **85** l. 8
4. [*Tempore*] *anni*, H.; ...*animi*, V.B. l. 28

CHAPTER 13.

[p. **43**]

1. *Occoday* [*vocabatur primus*], H.; *Cocoday*..., V.B. p. **86** l. 4
2. *Thossut*, H.; *Thosuc*, V.B.

p. **86** l. 7 **3.** *Chyrenen*, H.; *Chyrenem*, V.B.
l. 8 **4.** *Siba...Syban*, H.; *Siban...Saban*, V. B.
l. 10 **5.** After *Hurin et Cadan*, V. B. adds *et Nauschlin*.
l. 12 **6.** *Mengu...Bithat*, H.; *Mengii...Bichac*, V. B.
7. *Seroctan*, H.; *Serectam*, V. B.
l. 16 **8.** *Ouygat*, H.; *Duyget*, V. B.
l. 20 **9.** *Sinocur*, H.; *Synotur*, V. B.
10. *Cara, Gay*, H.; *Caragan*, V. B.
l. 21 **11.** *Correnſa*, H.; *Corenſa*, V. B.

In Chapter 14 no variants worth notice.

CHAPTER 15.

p. **87** l. 17 **1.** *Altissodan*, H.; *Altasodan*, V. B.

[p. **44**]

l. 36 **2.** *Kiouiam, Russiae metropolin*, H.; *Comani Ruscie metropolim*, V. B. [Just before V. B. has *Rustiam*.]
p. **88** l. 17 **3.** [*Hinc et ad*] *Samogetas*, H.; ...*Somagenos*, V. B.

CHAPTER 16.

p. **89** l. 11 **1.** *Deurum*, H.; *De Urim*, V.B.
l. 17 **2.** *Caliphi Baldach*, H.; *Califibaldas*, V. B.
l. 18 **3.** *CCCC Byzantios*, H.; *trecentos bisancios*, V. B.

CHAPTER 17.

l. 26 **1.** [*Decem...millenariijs*] *praeponunt*, H.; ...*praeposuit*, V. B.

[p. **45**]

p. **90** l. 23 **2.** *Ansas* [*crebras*], H.; *caudas...*, V. B.

CHAPTER 18.

p. **91** l. 5. **1.** *Dolabrum* [*quoq; de bono ferro*], H.; *dolobrum...*, V. B.

CHAPTER 19.

[p. **46**]

p. **92** l. 10 **1.** *Curias et ciuitates*, H.; *cunctas civitates*, V. B.
l. 11 **2.** *Slesiae*, H.; *Celeserie alias Selesie*, V. B.
l. 32 **3.** *Kiouiam*, H.; *Kioniam*, V. B.; [later *Luoniam sive Chioniam* and *Kyonia*].
l. 33 **4.** *Lituanos*, H.; *Lucuanos*, V. B.
l. 37 **5.** [*Porro in*] *Danilone*, H.; *Dambone*, V. B.
p. **93** l. 11 **6.** *Canouae*, H.; *Canone*, V. B.

CHAPTER 20.

[p. **47**]

p. **94** l. 10 **1.** *Sexaginta* [*millia*], H.; *DC...*, V. B.

CHAPTER 21.

1. *Habebamus* [*ex gratia Dei*], H.; *habemus...*, V. B. p. **94** l. 19
2. *Ter aut quater* [*omni die*], H.; omit V. B. l. 34
3. *Neper*, H.; *Veper*, V. B. l. 39
4. *Montij*, H.; *Monep*, V. B. p. **95** l. 1
5. *Congelantur...circa littora vndae*, H.; *congelatus...terra littorea bene*, V. B. l. 14

CHAPTER 22.

1. *Pocuratore* [*Eldegay*], H.; *procuratore...*, V. B. l. 29

[p. **48**]

2. *Solinum, H.*; *solium*, V. B. p. **96** l. 18

CHAPTER 23.

1. *Cuyne*, H.; *Cuyut*, V. B. l. 28
2. [*Sub hac*] *specie*, H.; *...spe*, V. B. l. 29
3. *Rediissent...Montij*, H.; *reddissent...Mony alias Monthy*, V. B. l. 31
4. *Bastarcos*, H.; *Bascarcos*, V. B. p. **97** l. 7
5. *Samogetas*, H.; *Samöedos*, V. B. l. 8

CHAPTER 24.

[p. **49**]

1. *Comanica*, H.; *Camonica*, V.B. l. 35
2. *Burin*, H.; *Hurin*, V.B. p. **98** l. 2
3. *Thiaday*, H.; *Chiaday*, V.B.
4. *Chingischam*, H.; *Chingistam*, V.B. [here and usually]. l. 3

CHAPTER 25.

1. *Magnum* [*frigus*], H.; *maximum...*, V.B. l. 35

CHAPTERS 26—29 in Vinc. Beauv. do not correspond to the same in Hakluyt: V. B.'s Chapter 26 is *De exaltatione Raconadii in Soldanum Turquie: frater Symon* [i.e. Simon of St Quentin]; Chapter 27, *De Losyr tyranni debachatione;* Chapter 28, *De federis inter Turcos et Tartaros confirmatione*; Chapter 29, *Qualiter Rex Minoris Armenie Tartaris se subdidit.*

All these are probably from Simon of St Quentin's lost work.

CHAPTER 26 H. (30 V. B.).

Here V. B. puts the heading *Frater Iohannes*, i.e. he resumes here his Summary of Carpini.

1. *Adunabatur* [*curia solennis*], H.; *habebatur...*, V. B. p. **99** l. 20
2. *Tam grande nostro iudicio*, H.; *tamen...*, V. B.; later, *tamen*, H.; *tantum*, V. B. l. 22

[p. **50**]

3. *Baldakinis*, H.; *badakynis*, V. B. l. 30
4. [*Extra tabulatum*] *collocabatur*, H.; *...colloquebantur*, V. B. p. **100** l. 2
5. *Ieroslaus*, H.; *Gerozlaus*, V. B. [later, *Geroslaus*, V. B.]. l. 10

In Chapter 27 H. (31 V. B.) no variants worth notice; Chapter 32 in Vinc. Beauv. from Simon of St Quentin is not in Hakluyt: *De solemnitate qua fuit incronizatus: Frater Symon.*

CHAPTER 28 H. (33 V. B.).

Here V. B. resumes the heading *Frater Iohannes.*

p. **101** l. 13 **1.** Before [*qui*] *cum ipso morabantur continue*, V. B. inserts *qui erant de familia ejus et.*

[p. **51**]

l. 28 **2.** [*Ab Imperatore*] *definitum*, H.; *...diffinitum*, V. B.

l. 35 **3.** *Cuyne*, H.; *Cuyhne*, V. B.

CHAPTER 34 in Vinc. Beauv., from Simon of St Quentin, is not in Hakluyt; *De nomine ejus ac principibus et exercitibus: Frater Symon.*

CHAPTER 29 H. (35 V. B.).

p. **102** l. 21 **1.** *Chingay*, H.; *Gingay*, V. B.

p. **103** l. 1 **2.** *Similiter sellae positae*, H.; *super quos.....*, V. B.

CHAPTER 30 H. (36 V. B.).

l. 13 **1.** *Ieroslai*, H.; *Geroslay*, V. B.

l. 18 **2.** *Solariolum*, H.; *Solarium*, V. B.

[N.B. *Soldal* for *Suzdal*, both in H. and V. B.]

[p. **52**]

CHAPTER 31 H. (37 V. B.)

p. **104** l. 14 **1.** *Ostendit*, H.; *indicavit*, V. B.; *ipse* after *fabricaverat*, omitted by V. B.

CHAPTERS 32 and 33 H. (38 and 39 V. B.) [pp. **52**, **53**]. No new variants worth notice exc. *itinerere ab illo*, V. B. for *ab illo itinere* (H.) in title of ch. 33 (39).

Here ends Carpini's text in the abridgement of Vincent, together with six interpolated chapters, apparently all from Simon of St Quentin, and dealing with the experiences of Brother Anselm (or Ascelin) and himself. The following chapters are now added, all apparently from Simon, *ex libello Fratris Symonis.*

CHAPTER 40. *Qualiter fratres predicatores apud Baiothnoy* [i.e. Bachu or Baiju 'Noyan'] *Tartarorum principem admissi fuerunt; ex libello fratris Symonis.*

CHAPTER 41. *Qualiter ab eis Tartari de muneribus et de adventu Francorum inquirunt.*

CHAPTER 42. *Qualiter adorare Baiothnoy fratres respuerunt.*

CHAPTER 43. *Qualiter Tartaris Christianitatem fratres suaserunt.*

CHAPTER 44. *Qualiter illi de sentencia mortis in fratres tractaverunt.*

CHAPTER 45. *Qualiter de modo adorandi sunt altercati.*

CHAPTER 46. *Qualiter ad Chaam ire recusaverunt.*

CHAPTER 47. *Qualiter literas Domini Papae in Tartaricum ydeoma transferri fecerunt.*

CHAPTER 48. *Qualiter fratres dolose diutius per Tartaros retenti sunt.*

CHAPTER 49. *Qualiter Anghutam illos expectare compulerunt.*

CHAPTER 50. *Qualiter post ejus adventum recesserunt.*

CHAPTER 51. *De litteris a principe Tartarorum* [i.e. Baiothnoy] *missis ad papam.*

CHAPTER 52. *De litteris ab imperatore ipsorum ad eundem principem* [i.e. Baiothnoy] *missis.*

Other details are given in Vinc. Beauv. *Spec. Histor.* Book XXXI (or XXX) ch. 149 on Batho's [Batu's] ravaging of Poland and Hungary *ex hystoria Tartarorum. Et ego quidem*, says Vincent (as quoted by Hak. p. 37), *ab uno fratrum praedicatorum, videlicet a fratre Symone de Sancto Quintino iam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorum accepi, illa duntaxat quae superius per diversa loca iuxta congruentiam temporum, huic operi inserui.* Cf. also Book XXX (otherwise XXIX) of the *Spec. Histor.* chs. 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 80 and other places; Book XXXI (otherwise XXX) chs. 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 32, for other refs. of V. B. to the Tartars.

§ 8. NOTES ON HAKLUYT'S VERSION OF VINCENT OF BEAUVAIS' ABRIDGMENT OF CARPINI. pp. 53—71.

From the Latin text of pp. 37—53; no account being taken in this translation of the fuller text on pp. 21—37.

CHAPTER 2.

[p. **53**]

1. *Ascelline.* Ascelin or Anselm was head of the Dominican embassy sent by Innocent IV. in 1247[—50] to the Tartars. Ascelin was accompanied by Simon of St Quentin, the historian of the expedition, and apparently by several others—Alexander, Albert, Guichard of Cremona and Andrew of Longumeau, Lonjumeau or Lonjumel,—afterwards an envoy of Louis IX. to the Mongols. The last two joined Ascelin's party after it had set out. Authorities differ somewhat about these minor figures of the mission: in any case it was a supplement to the two Franciscan legations despatched in 1245 by the same pontiff to the new lords of the East, (1) one under Laurentius or Lourenço of Portugal, (2) the other under John de Plano Carpini (Giovanni del Pian di Carpine). Ascelin and his party were ordered to carry the Papal letters to the first Tartar army they should meet on the side of Persia and Armenia. This was one under Bachu or Baiju 'Noyan' ('General' Baiju, the 'Baiothnoy' of Simon of St Quentin), whom we find later encamped at Kars and who was now at Sitiens, 59 days' journey from Acre, according to Simon. Ascelin's letters were similar in tenor to Carpini's: after much trouble, they were translated through Persian into Mongol and so presented to Baiju. He greatly irritated the Mongols by implying that the Pope was superior even to the Great Khan, by having no presents to offer, by refusing to go on to the Imperial Court in Mongolia, by declining the accustomed genuflections before Baiju, and by urging him and his men to become Christians. 'What, become dogs, like you and your pope' was the reply. Ascelin and his companions were lodged a mile from the Tartar camp, treated like dogs, and denied all answer for nearly nine weeks, throughout June and July. Thrice Baiju, who had been mortally offended by the freedom of their speech, ordered their death. At last they were dismissed (July 25, 1247) with Baiju's response to the Pope, dated the 'region

p. **107** l. 9

p. **107** of Sitiens,' July 20. In this the 'Noyan' complained of the 'high words' of the Latin envoys, and commanded Innocent to come in person and submit to the master of all the earth; he also sent a copy of the instructions he professed to have received from the Great Khan, regulating his behaviour to foreign peoples. Baiju (sometimes mis-spelt Baitu) belonged to the Mongol tribe of Yissut, was a relation of the more famous general Chebe, had invaded Persia with Charmaghan, and afterwards destroyed the Sultanate of Rûm. He was visited by King Hayton or Hethum of Little Armenia in 1254 and 1255, at Kars on the way out, at 'Sisian' (Sitiens) on the return journey. 'Noyan' or 'Nuyan' properly means 'Myriarch,' a commander of 10,000. On Ascelin's journey cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1852, II. 200—1, 221—233, III. 79; Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, p. 52, Rome, 1675; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, III. 116–8; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, 1888, I. 113, 166, 171 and notes 455, 494; d'Avezac, Introd. to Carpini in his edition of 1838, reprinted in the publications of the Paris Société de Géographie, *Recueil de Voyages*, etc., 1839, vol. IV. pp. 464—5. Refs. to the text of Carpini and Rubruquis, to d'Avezac's Introd. and notes, and to the notes of Michel and Wright on Rubruquis, are always made to this vol. of the *Recueil* edition. On Charmaghan [Chormagûn] cf. p. 282.

l. 11 **2.** *Of the same authoritie...were called*: a translation of *auctoritate, qua fungebantur.*

l. 19 **3.** *Simon de Sanct. Quintin*: i.e. Simon de Sancto Quintino (of St Quentin), the historian of Ascelin's mission of 1247 to Baiju, is only preserved in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, where 19 chapters are expressly said to be *ex libello fratris Simonis* or labelled *frater Simon* (*Symon*) viz. *Spec. Hist.*, book XXXII. [as usually quoted; sometimes called XXXI.] chs. 26—29, 32, 34, 40—52: besides these a number of other chapters, in books XXXI. and XXX. are probably from the same source; cf. book XXXI. [otherwise XXX.] chs. 3, 4, 7, 8, 13, 32, and book XXX. [otherwise XXIX.] chs. 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 80, etc. Cf. Reinier Reinecke, who extracted all the matter relating to Oriental Nations from Vincent of Beauvais and published it in his *Historia Orientalis* [*Haythoni Armenii et huic subjectum Marci Pauli Veneti Itinerarium, item fragmentum e Speculo Historiali Vincentii Belvacensis, ejusdem argumenti*], Helmstadt 1585, Frankfurt 1595; d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil* (as above) pp. 404—5, 433—4, 464—5; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 200—1, 221—233; Bretschneider, as quoted in note 1. Simon is the only 13th century Christian writer, except King Hayton of Little Armenia, who speaks of the Mongol Khan ('Gogcham' in Simon; Vinc. Beauv. book XXXI. ch. 32) being elevated on a felt in the air and so proclaimed; as Simon did not go to Mongolia proper, his word might be doubted; but Hayton declares that he himself was twice present at the *confirmatio* of the Tartar emperor.

l. 22 **4.** *Iohn de Plano Carpini*: i.e. Giovanni del Piano di Carpine [-i], one of the original members of the Franciscan order, a companion of St Francis: appointed in 1228 Provincial of the Order in Germany, in 1230 Provincial in Spain, in 1241 again Provincial in Germany (at Cologne); member of a noble house, the Lords of Piano di ['Pian de'] Carpine [-i] near Perugia, now known as Piano della Magione. When sent by Innocent IV. to the Tartars he was, like Lourenço of Portugal, the Pope's penitentiary (*pœnitentiarius ipsius*). On his journey he was accompanied (by orders of Innocent IV.) by two other Franciscans, Benedict of Poland, who stood by him throughout, and Stephen of Bohemia, who turned back near Kiev. After his return he was 'interviewed' in France by the friar

Salimbene de Salimbeni and others. Salimbeni, who saw him in Nov. 1247, calls him *familiaris homo et spiritualis et litteratus et magnus prolocutor et in multis expertus*, and says that he wrote *de factis Tartarorum et aliis mirabilibus mundi, secundum quod oculis suis vidit, unum magnum librum: et faciebat illum librum legi, ut pluries audivi et vidi, quoties facta Tartarorum gravabatur referre* (cf. Sbaraglia, *Supplementum et castigatio ad Scriptores III. Ordinum*, p. 452; d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil*, 598). The Pope expressed great pleasure with the results of Carpini's mission and kept him three months in close attendance on himself, after which he appointed him Archbishop of Antivari and Metropolitan of Dalmatia; in this office John de Plano died, perhaps in 1248, certainly before the close of 1252. The letter of Innocent IV. (entrusted to Carpini), addressed *Regi et Populo Tartarorum*, is printed by d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil*, IV. pp. 479—80. Carpini's credentials were given him March 5, 1245, and he started from Lyons April 16 of the same year, while the Council of Lyons was not formally opened until June 20, 1245; many have wrongly assumed that Carpini was sent out *by* the Council. Cf. d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil*, IV. 464: on Carpini's earlier life, *ibid.* 467—478, and on the mission in general, *ibid.* 465—6, 478—597; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (1852), II. 207—221; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 204, etc.: on Carpini's whole career, Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, II. 4—5, 74—5, 104, 209, 247, [408]; III. 116—125, where two Papal letters to the Mongols are printed: on Stephen of Bohemia cf. Wadding, *Scriptores*, 221, and the additional narrative of the Carpini Mission in Benedict the Pole, printed by d'Avezac in vol. IV. of the Paris *Recueil*, pp. 774—9. p. **107**

CHAPTER 3.

[p. **54**]

1. *Mongal or Tartaria...most North Easterly.* The home-land of the Mongols was E. and S. of Lake Baikal, in what Rubruquis calls *Onan-Kerule*, i.e. in the basins of the Onon and Kerulen, head-waters of the Amur, as well as in those of the Orkhon and Selenga, head-waters of the Angara-Yenisei. The Yeka or Great Mongol tribe lay apparently to the north of the Su-Mongol, to the south of the Orengai or Oengai, to the east of the Merkit and north-east of the Krit or Mekrit. See the map accompanying Rockhill's translation of Rubruquis for the Hak. Soc., 1900, and that prefixed to vol. I. of d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (1852), also cf. vol. I. pp. 6—7, 9—10, 423—9 of the latter work and Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 318; II. 159. p. **108** l. 3

2. *On the East...Kythay...on...North...the Ocean Sea*: i.e. in modern language China or North China (=*Kythay* of Carpini) and Manchuria and Korea (=the *Solangi* of Carpini, *Langa and Solanga* of Rubruquis, *Sulangka* of Moslem writers) lay east of the Mongol country; while the Mohammedan regions of the modern 'Russian' and 'Chinese' Turkestan (=the *Saracens* of Carp.) lay southward, the Uigurs of Zungaria south-westwards, the Naimans of the Upper Irtish and Northern Zungaria westward, and the Arctic Ocean northward. For Hak.'s *on the South east the land of the Huini*, the best texts read *between South and West, the Uigurs*. Cf. d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil*, 519—23, also 459, 501—5; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 1, 4—10, 53, 54—5, 167, 428, 430; Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, I. 316, II. 672 (Eng. ed.); several later passages of Carpini and some of Rubruquis illustrate this, e.g. pp. 653, 750, 752—3, 756 of the former in the *Recueil* text (d'Avezac's), and pp. 260, l. 5

p. 108 282—92, 295 of the latter in the same edition (Michel and Wright's); see also Rockhill's notes in the Hak. Soc. Trans. on these portions of Rubruquis and the remarks of Ney Elias and Ross in their version of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 74, 93, 290; Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, I. part i., pp. 20, 691; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 43, 190, 236—63; II. 157, 173—4.

l. 15 3. *Cracurim...proper towne*: a trans. of *C....satis bona esse dicitur*. The form best known is *Karakorum* (properly *Kara-Kuren*) whose ruins have been satisfactorily identified by the Russian traveller Yadrintsev (1889) near Karabalgassun in the upper valley of the Orkhon, about 30 miles S. of its confluence with the Urtu-Tamir, in N. Lat. 47° 15′, and E. Long. (Greenwich) 102° 20′ 15″. The remains, as Yadrintsev found them, covered a space 6 miles round, and were connected by canals with the river Tirmanta, where some fragments of old bath-buildings stood near hot springs. The whole basin of the Orkhon abounds in evidence of former habitation. Karakorum, Okkodai's foundation, was called *Ordu-Balik* (*Ordu-Town*) by him and *Ho-lin* by the Chinese, but was commonly known among the Mongols as *Kara-Kuren*, i.e. *The Black Enclosure*, *Kuren* being the Mongol name for a collection of dwellings in a circle, or with roughly circular disposition, a term still applied to many monasteries, and especially to Urga. Near this site was an old 'royal vill' of Buku Khan of the Uigurs and his successors, said to date from the 8th cent. A.D. Okkodai chose it as his favourite residence in 1235 and in the same year enclosed it with a wall; in 1236 his new 'palace' was opened there; in 1254, while Rubruquis was there, Mangu made considerable additions to its rough splendour; but in 1256 the latter transferred the imperial seat to Kai-ping-fu, N. of Pekin, and by 1289, in consequence of this and of the unsuccessful rebellion of Kaidu against Kublai, Karakorum was completely ruined. D'Ohsson, with his usual acuteness, though writing so long before the real discovery of the site, believed it to be on the Orkhon ('Orcoun'). Andrew of Longumeau has been often supposed, as by Élisée Réclus, to have visited Karakorum, in 1250; others do not believe that he went further than the 'Horde' of the Regent Mother Ogul Gaimish on the Imil, a little N.E. of Lake Balkhash: the only evidence of a visit to Karakorum or its neighbourhood on his part is a passage in Mangu's letter to King Louis, given by Rubruquis, *Recueil*, p. 370:—*postquam Kenchan mortuus fuit, nuncii vestri pervenerunt ad curiam eius*. Carpini, though he did not visit Karakorum, was within a few hours' journey of it, and is the first western writer to mention it; cf. Rockhill's *Rubruck*, Hak. Soc. XXXII. 111, 116, 149, 220, and the text of Rubruquis pp. 261, 263, 284, 292, 303, 308, 326, 334—9, 345—6, 367, 373—4 in the Paris *Recueil*; Joinville (in Francisque Michel's edition of 1859) pp. 143—8 of the *Histoire de S. Louis*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 60—1, 64—5; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 122, 256; II. 162 and note 304.

l. 18 4. *Syra Orda*: perhaps the same as *Ormektua*, probably a little to the south of Karakorum, and in any case half a day's journey distant from the latter, according to Carpini himself (p. 608 of the *Recueil* text). Friar John gives no explanation of the name; it has sometimes been translated as *Yellow Tent* or *Golden Horde*. But according to contemporary writers it was a camp of 2000 *white* tents; and the Golden Horde is expressly distinguished by Carpini from Syra Orda, p. 757 of the *Recueil* text; in Mongol, *Golden Horde* would be *Altan Ordu*; see Rockhill, *Rubruck*, etc. p. 22 note, of Hak. Soc. version; cf. also pp. 757, 758 of Carpini's text in the *Recueil*, and pp. 777 and 778 of Benedict the Pole, in the same ed. Rubruquis does not mention Syra

Orda, nor does M. Polo; the latter gives only a short hearsay description of Karakorum (chap. 63, pp. 171—4, Pauthier). p. **108**

5. *Neere vnto the Orda*: a trans. of *ante ordam*. l. 30

CHAPTER 4.

1. *Balles of their cheekes...*: Hak. does not here translate *genae quoque satis prominent a maxillis*. p. **109** l. 7

2. *Eye liddes standing streight vpright*: Hak. does not here translate *usque ad supercilia* except by this paraphrase. l. 8

3. *They weare...vpon their foreheads...but behinde*: a rather loose version of *ex utraq; parte frontis tondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem*. l. 10

4. *Shoubes or gownes*: in Hak.'s original simply *pellicium*. *Shoubes* of course from the Russian *shuba*, a fur-coat. l. 17

5. [*They haue no*] *Kine*: a mis-print for *swine* (*porcos*). This is corrected in Hak.'s 'Preface to the Reader.' l. 33

[p. **55**]

6. *Mares milke, if they haue it*: after this Hak. gives no trans. of the Latin clause *Porro in hyeme, quia nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent...*. l. 37

CHAPTER 5.

1. *Clergie or laie-people*, Hak.'s version of *religiosi siue seculares*. p. **110** l. 9

2. *Deceiue*, Hak. does not translate *de facili* before *mentiuntur*. l. 10

3. *Tabernacles and cartes*, Hak.'s version of *stationes et currus*. l. 15

4. *Dishonestie*, Hak.'s version of *impudicitia*, 'honesty' in 16th cent. English signifying usually chastity or modesty. l. 31

5. *Great duke of Russia, the kings sonne of Georgia*, etc. The 'Great Duke' (*Veliki Kniaz*) here referred to is Yaroslav II. of Vladimir ('Volodimir') and Suzdal, 1238—1246. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 76—7; Karamzin's *Russian History*, IV. 31, 295 [IV. 1—3, 38—40, in French version by St Thomas and Jauffret, Paris, 1819]. On the Georgians and their princes see d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 206—7, Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, I. 299. l. 35

The Great Princes of Vladimir [-Suzdal] began in 1096: those of Kiev nominally continued till 1240, but the practical supremacy of the latter ended in 1169. The *Georgiani* of Carpini are the *Kurj* of Abulfeda (Reinaud, II. 286), the *Gu-rh-ji* of the Chinese, the *Georgini* or *Curgi* of Rubruquis (*Recueil*, p. 383, not in Hak.).

6. *Sleights...conspiracies*, Hak.'s version of *astutia...astutias*. p. **111** l. 5

7. *Casteth it vp*, Hak.'s version of *reijcit*, misprint for *rejicit*. l. 12

CHAPTER 6.

1. *A tall fellow*, in Hak.'s original *vnus rusticus*. l. 24

2. *Duke of Russia named Andreas...accused before...Baty*.... This was Prince Andrew of Chernigov, cf. Karamzin's *Russian History*, IV. 43. The Russian *dux* Michael whom Carpini describes as executed by Batu (or rather kicked to death at Batu's orders, 1246), for refusing to worship as the Tartars required, is St Michael of Chernigov; his faithful servant and fellow-martyr is l. 33

p. 111 St Feodor: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 215; Karamzin's *Russian History*, IV. 34 [IV. 40—43, in the French version of Karamzin, by St Thomas and Jauffret, Paris, 1819: this, though full of blemishes, is much better known than the German trans. by Fr. von Hauenschild]. For other martyrdoms of Russian Princes by the Mongols cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 75—6.

[p. 56]

l. 38 **3.** *Dukedome of Russia*, in Hak.'s original simply *terra*.

p. 112 l. 11 **4.** After *father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one*, Hak. gives no trans. of the clause *itaque si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinae, sicut filius vxoris legitimae*.

5. *King of Georgia...Melich...Dauid*, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 206—7. According to d'Ohsson, both the Georgian claimants before Kuyuk were named David; one was a bastard of George Lascha, last King of Georgia before the Mongol overlordship; the other was son of Queen Rhuzudan, who had succeeded her brother George. Kuyuk divided Georgia between them, giving Kharthli to the first and Imeretia to the second, who had to do homage to the former.

CHAPTER 7.

l. 36 **1.** *Take away the head or force*: a version of *auferri debeat caput*.

p. 113 l. 27 **2.** *About* [*the corde*]: *super* [*cordam*] in original.

l. 28 **3.** *Iagges* [*of buckram*], *scissiones* in original.

4. After *vnder which corde* Hak. does not translate *et ligaturis*.

l. 40 **5.** [*Practised some*] *witchcraft*: Hak.'s trans. of *veneficia* [*fecerint*].

[p. 57]

CHAPTER 8 [misprinted 7].

p. 114 l. 3 **1.** *Countrie...called Mongul...Yeka...Su...Tartars...Merkat...Metrit*: on all these names see the discussion in M. d'Avezac's *Introduction* to Carpini in vol. IV. of the Paris *Recueil*, pp. 530—536; also the notes of Rockhill in his (Hak. Soc.) ed. of Rubruquis [and part Carpini] pp. 107, 111—12: 249, 196—7.

Following the Slav pronunciation, which Benedict the Pole and his (probably Russian) guides from Kiev to the Volga seem to have usually persuaded him to adopt, Carpini writes *Mongal*. His interpretations of *Yeka* as meaning *great* and of *Su* as meaning *water* are quite correct. They may be found also in Strahlenberg's *Description historique de l'empire russien*, II. pp. 338, 362 (*vocabulaire calmuque et mungale*, where the forms given are *ike* or *yke* and *usu* or *sui*, the *shui* of the Chinese), and in Abel Rémusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 172, where the spelling *yake* is given for *yeka*. The Yeka-Mongal are the *Mongol-Nyrûn* of Eastern historians, the *Black Tha-tha* (or Tartars) of Chinese writers, who place the *White Tha-tha* adjoining the Great Wall. The derivation of the name of *Tartar* from a river *Tar* or *Tartar*, often asserted—as by Matthew Paris—is strenuously denied by Strahlenberg (*Desc. hist. d. l'emp. russ.*, II. 176) and by the best modern authorities. On the other hand the title of *Black Tha-tha*, for the followers of Chighiz, is employed by the almost contemporary Meng-Kung who served in the Mongol armies. Cf. Abel Rémusat, *Langues Tartares*, p. 239; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 9—10, 21—25, 26—37, 425—9; Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, I. 471, and

Tableaux de l'Asie, 154, 155, 157. The White Tha-tha are the Ungut of various Arabic and Persian writers, e.g. Rashid-ed-din and Abul-Ghazi (*Histoire généalogique des Tartares*, pp. 117—121 (edition of 1726), 47—8 (edition of 1871—4, Desmaisons)). The Su-Mongal are the *Su-Moghul* of Wassaf (Abd-Allah ibn Fadhl-Allah Wassaf, the Persian historian), the *Sy-Mogol* of Abulfeda, following Ibn Said, and the *Shui-Mung-ku* and *Shui-Tha-tha* of various Chinese authors, cf. Von Hammer and Klaproth in *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, XIV. 352, 361: Klaproth, *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, I. 471, Rémusat, and Strahlenberg, as last quoted. To the Su-Mongols was applied *par excellence* the name of 'Tartars' by some, in opposition to the Great Mongols or Mongols proper. p. 114

Merkat is the *Merkit* of the best MSS., and of the Arab and Persian historians, the *Merghed* of the Mongol text of Sanang-Setsen, the *Mie-li-ki* of Chinese authors. It was the name of a powerful Tartar tribe living in the Selenga and Lake Baikal basins, between the 'Eastern Tartars' and the Naimans or Naymans, cf. Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, XI. 448—455, Abul-Ghazi, *Hist. généal. d. Tart.*, pp. 130, 201—4 (1726); 53, 76, 78, 89, 91, 99—100, 151, 178 (1871—4).

Metrit, otherwise *Mekrit* or *Mecrit*, is probably the same as the *Crit* [*et Merkit*] of Rubruquis, and the *Mecri* of Marco Polo, and refers to the tribe of the *Keraits* or *Keryts*, as they are called by Arab and Persian writers, the *Ke-lie* of Chinese historians. Cf. Gaubil, *Gentchiscan*, pp. 4, 5; Abul-Ghazi, *Hist. généal. d. Tart.*, 117, 173—193; d'Ohsson, *Hist. d. Mong.*, I. 7, 48—60, 73—82, 425; M. Polo, ch. 70, p. 200 of Pauthier's edition; Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, XI. 450—462; Rubruquis, pp. 261, 288 in the *Recueil*. The *Crit* or *Mecrit* are perhaps the *Mukrites* of Theophylact Simocatta, *Histories*, bk. VII. ch. 7: among them appears to have arisen the original Prester John, *c.* A.D. 1007—1008. In the 13th century they seem to have lived to the north of Karakorum, near the south and south-west sides of Lake Baikal.

On Mongol manners, besides what is said in Carpini and Rubruquis, cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, XXXII. [otherwise XXXI.] 50, and XXX. [otherwise XXIX.] 71, 77, 81, the former professedly, and the latter probably, derived from Simon of St Quentin, and both referring to the Mongol *cantibus vel potius ululatibus*. In the second and longer description Vincent declares *modo interrogativo, clamoroso, loquuntur, gutture rabido...Cantantes mugiunt ut tauri...ululant ut lupi, voces inarticulatas in cantando proferunt*. See also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 394—403; II. 200—1.

2. *One of their companions*, a trans. of *vnus* [sc. *populus*] *eorum*, viz. the Yeka tribe. l. 5

3. *Chingis*. This is the most usual spelling of the name among the best-informed Latin writers of the 13th century, and very near to the modern critical form. There is no space here to annotate the history of Chingiz' conquests; but we may remark that his first campaigns were waged in the order that Carpini describes:—against the Su-Mongols in 1194, the Merkits in 1197, the Crit or Keraits in 1203. His victory over the Naimans which followed, was won in a narrow valley through which Carpini passed on his way to Kuyuk's court (see p. 648 of the *Recueil* text); it may be placed, as by d'Avezac (p. 537 in vol. IV. of the Paris *Recueil*), in a gorge of the Great Altai between Lakes Aral-Nor and Kizil-bash. In this reference, as in that which he makes to the check Chingiz received from the Kitans, Carpini has summarised rather confusedly a great number of separate campaigns (e.g. of 1199, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1209, 1218). l. 13

p. 114 Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. *passim*, and esp. pp. 36—419; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 42, 85—7, 157, 185.

l. 14 **4.** *Steale men, and...take them for a pray*, a trans. of *homines furari, et praedam capere.*

l. 24 **5.** *The Naimani...had a mighty and puissant Emperour. Naiman* in Mongol means *Eight*. Their dominion included the Grand Altai, from which perhaps they originally came, Lake Zaisan, the uppermost course of the river Irtish, and much of the modern Kirghiz territory. Cf. Rubruquis, pp. 260, 295, in the *Recueil* text; Rockhill, *Rubruck* (Hak. Soc.), notes on pp. 109—110, 162, and map; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 43, 61, 63, 73, 167, 218, 230—1, 298, and notes 98, 560, 590; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. I. pp. 6, 83—89, 425, 56 n. 2 and the map prefixed to this 1st vol. of d'Ohsson. See also note 2, ch. 25 of this commentary.

l. 34 **6.** *Karakitay*. An empire founded in the 12th century by the Kitans from N. China, flying before the Kin; their centre was at Imil on the Imil river: their empire once included great part of the present Chinese and Russian Turkestan, from Lob Nor to Talas and the middle Syr Daria, and from Khotan to beyond Lake Ala-kul, Lake Balkhash, and the Chu. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 3, 163—174, and the map prefixed to d'Ohsson's 1st vol.; also Rockhill, *Rubruck* (Hak. Soc.) pp. 15, 16, 18, 37, 108, 109, 138 and map; and above all Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 18, 72, 129, 167, 208—235, with notes 536—595.

l. 39 **7.** *Occoday*: otherwise *Okkodai*, *Ogodai*, etc. On the second of the Great Khans, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 1—186, and esp. 9—99; also *ibid.*, I. 354 etc.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 62, 112—3, 185, 277, 286, 289—90, 302; II. 7—8, with notes 147, 790.

l. 41 **8.** *Chanyl*: otherwise *Chamil*, the *Omyl* of the best Carpini MSS., the *Yem-li* of the Chinese, the modern *Imil*, on the river of the same name, a little west of Lake Kizil-bash which Chinese writers describe in just the same terms as the Latin travellers. On its place in the history of the Kara-kitai, Okkodai's rebuilding of it, etc., cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. pp. 166, 260, 442; II. 2, 8, 195; Abul-Ghazi, *Histoire généalog. des Tartares*, 121—5 (1726); 49, 152 (1871—4); Abul-Faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, pp. 282, 305, 322; *Magasin asiatique*, I. pp. 195—6, 209, 214—16, 220, 223 (Putimtsev's *Voyage à Ili*).

p. 115 l. 7 **9.** *Herbes*: Hak.'s version of *gramina*.

CHAPTER 9.

l. 12 **1.** *Kythayans...[Pagans.. artificers]*: with Carpini's excellent description of the Chinese at the close of this chapter we may compare Rubruquis' more elaborate account on pp. 260, 284, 291—2, 327—9, 346 of *Recueil* text and Rockhill's notes on pp. 109, 144, 155—6, 196—202, 221 of the Hak. Soc. edition. On the terms Kythay, Khatai [Kat-], Khitai [Kit-], Khata [Kat-], Cathay, Catay, perhaps originating from the dynasty and empire of the Kitan, Kitai or Liao in N. China (A.D. 916—1125), cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 209, 225, 232; II. 281; Schott's *Kitai u. Karakitai*, 1878, Public. of the Berlin *Akad. d. Wissenchaft*. The classical and mediaeval terms *Seres* and *Cathay*, expressing overland knowledge of China, balance those of *Sina*, Τζίνιστα, and *China* for the maritime side of the same country. Nations such as Russians and Persians, whose knowledge of China has been almost exclusively overland, still hold to *Kitai* or *Cathay*. Western Europe, whose modern acquaintance

with the Celestial Empire was made by the Portuguese, the Ocean routes, Macao, etc., knows it by the older name, perhaps reappearing in that of the subsequent 'Kin' dynasty. In Fa-Hien's day 400 A.D., the Chinese knew their own country as the land of *Han*, from the great dynasty that then reigned. p. **115**

2. *Huyri...sect of Nestorius*: the Uigurs, who submitted to Chingiz in 1209, are usually called *Huiur* by Carpini, *Iogurs* by King Hayton, and *Iugures* by Rubruquis. Cf. the latter's text in the *Recueil*, 282—9, 329, and see Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, pp. 121—130; *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, II. 301—410; and *Abhandlung über die Sprache u. Schrift d. Uiguren*; forming together perhaps the most valuable studies ever made of this people. See also Reinaud, *Aboulféda*, p. 360, etc.; the *Chinese History of the Great Thang Dynasty*, ch. 257 a, summarised by Bretschneider as quoted below; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 107—111, 429—441; Clavijo, p. 138 in Antonio de Sancha's Madrid edition of 1782; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 236—263, with notes 596—649; *ibid.*, I. 214; II. 26, 53, 177—8, 180; here is presented with his usual lucidity this eminent sinologue's latest study of the subject. The Uigurs are the Wei-wu-rh [and Hui-ho?] of the Chinese, and were a widely scattered and long-enduring Turkish race; in the 8th century their Khans reigned over the site of Karakorum; in the 13th century their home was chiefly in W. Mongolia and Zungaria, to the S.W. of the Naimans, in the region of Bishbalikh. l. 24

3. *Letters or learning...hand or letters*: in each case a trans. of *literam*. l. 26

4. *Saruyur*: the *Sari-Uigur* or Yellow Uigurs, a sub-division of the Uigur nation, settled in the Tsaidam region near Lake Koko-Nor in Northern Tibet, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 263; II. 205; Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, II. 345. Both of these refer fully to the Chinese accounts (in the History of the Ming Dynasty or *Ming Shi*) of the Yellow-haired Uigurs or Sa-li Wei-wu-rh, 1500 *li* S.W. of Kan-su, between Khotan and the Empire of Hia or Tangut. See also Rémusat, *Ville de Khotan*, p. 95. l. 29

5. *Karanites*: perhaps the *Karanut* of Abul-Ghazi and other Oriental writers: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 425—7, where the sub-divisions of the Mongol race are discussed: they were descended from one Tusbudai, like the Kurlass and Iljikin Mongols.

6. *Hudirat*: the *Voyrat* of most and best MSS. of Carpini; also written *Oyrat* [*Oi-*], *Oyrad*, *Olet*, *Euleut*, *Udryat*, *Uirat*, *Noyrad*; an old name for the Western Mongols or Kalmuks, cf. Abul-Ghazi, *Histoire généalogique des Tartares*, 112—5 (1726); 45—6, 60, 89, 93, 152, 173—5 (1871—4); d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 7, 104, 105, 424; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 139, 159—173, and notes 896—923, an admirable account. The Oirat or Voyrat are called *Wa-la* by the Chinese; a very full series of refs. to them occurs in the History of the Ming Dynasty (*Ming Shi*). l. 30

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7. *Kythayans...vanquished, Chingis...obtayned...Empire*: the Kitan (within China) were of course overthrown by the Kin or 'Golden' Dynasty in 1115—1125: Chingiz' wars in N. China were against the latter, whom he decisively worsted by the capture of Yen-king, 1215, and who were finally crushed by the Mongols in 1234. As early as 1206, after his first campaign against the Hia or Tangut of Northern Tibet, Chingiz took the Imperial title of Khan or Khakhan. The name of Kitai is given by Carpini to the Tangut empire as well as to that of the Kin (the *Altun-Khans* or Golden Emperors). p. **116** l. 15

CHAPTER 10.

p. **116** l. 39 **1.** *Thossut...Can, that is...Emperour*: 'Thossut' or 'Tossuc' is Juji or Chuchi, eldest son of Chingiz; 'Juchi' in Rashid-ed-din; 'Jochi' in some Chinese records; he died before his father, 1224: Batu was his most famous son. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 189, 285, 289—290; II. 7—8, 13, 15, and notes 531, 700. *Can*, i.e. Khan, Khagan, or Khakhan, the Han of the Chinese, the Χαγάνος of the Byzantines, is the Turkish Imperial title. It first occurs in the Chinese Annals under A.D. 312.

p. **117** l. 3 **2.** *India minor...these Indians...blacke Saracens...Æthiopians*. Under *Lesser India* Carpini probably refers to the regions on the west or right bank of the Indus (attacked by the armies of Chinghiz under Tului in 1221—2), the *India Prima* of Nicolo Conti and Fra Mauro, the *India parva quae et Ethiopia* of Marino Sanuto, as opposed to *India Magna* or Hindostan and *India interior Ioannis presbyteri*, apparently Indo-China. Friar Jordanus of Severac and Columbum, and Nicolo Conti, also call this part *India Minor*.

l. 6 **3.** *India maior...Presbiter Iohn*: by *Greater India* Carpini appears to mean all India beyond (E. of) the Indus. *India Major*, *India Secunda* or *India Magna* is generally defined by Latin writers of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, such as Jordanus of Columbum, Marino Sanuto, and Nicolo Conti, as the region between Indus and Ganges, while *India tertia* or *India interior* is our Indo-China or Further India, and *India Minor* a vast ill-defined coastal region west of the Indus. It is *India tertia* which Jordanus and Sanuto call the *Regnum Joannis Presbyteri*. In Friar Odoric *India Superior* is Manzi or S. China,—a very odd use. On the Asiatic Prester John, placed behind Armenia and Persia, at the 'extremity of the East,' supposed to be a Nestorian Christian (like his people), to unite in himself regal and sacerdotal power, and to be the conqueror of great part of Persia and Media (including Ecbatana), cf. Otto of Freisingen, *Chronicon*, VIII. 32, 33, and Alberic Trois Fontaines, *Chronicon*, under 1145, based upon the reports of the Bishop of Gabala, sent by the Armenian Church to Eugenius III. (see also Alberic under the years 1221 and 1222). The ultimate original of this story seems to lie in the conversion of the Chief of the Keraits to Nestorian Christianity in 1007—1008. Letters purporting to come from this *Presbyter Joannes* (probably forgeries) and addressed to the Pope, the Emperors of East and West, the King of France, and the King of Portugal, are said by Alberic to have been circulated in Europe in or before 1165 (see Alb.'s *Chronicon* under 1165). Specimens of these letters to the *Emperor of Rome* and the *King of France* are in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris under the quotation O. 1243—1 (4to.). They are without date or place or paging: cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. (1839) p. 549. But in 1177 Alexander III., writing (5 Kal. Oct.) *Indorum regi sacerdotum sanctissimo*, makes no reference to these letters, but only to common rumour and the reports of one Master Philip, a Papal physician, who while in the East had heard of the Prester's wish to learn about the doctrine of the Roman Church. James de Vitry also mentions the Prester, in whose realms Nestorians were very numerous, masters of the greater part of India; cf. the *Historia Hierosolymitana* in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1092, 1093; in 1219 De Vitry as bishop of Acre writes to Honorius III.: David, King of the Indians, commonly called Prester John, he declares, is now the terror of Asia. Matthew Paris, in the *Historia Major* (A.D. 1237, vol. III. pp. 397—9, and esp. 398, Rolls Series), refers to a letter received in 1237 from Philip, Prior of the Dominicans in Palestine, declaring

that Nestorianism was dominant in Greater India, *in regno sacerdotis Joannis*, etc. Simon of St Quentin (in Vinc. Beauv., *Spec. Hist.* XXX. [otherwise XXIX., as in Augsburg edition of 1474], ch. 69) makes Prester John formerly King of India and suzerain of the Tartars: the latter under Chingiz, according to Simon, rebelled against his successor David and overthrew him (*A° D^i* 1203 *secundum quosdam Tartari...in...Tartaria, quae affinis est Indiae, residentes contra regem David dominum suum...Presbyteri Johannis quondam dominatoris et imperatoris Indiae filium, conspiraverunt*). Precisely the same is reported to Innocent IV. by Bishop Odo of Tusculum, Wed. in Holy Week 1249 (*Dicebant quod...Tartari primo debellaverunt filium presbyteri Joannis*; also *quod ipse qui nunc agit in sceptris, Kiokai nomine, matrem habuit christianam filiam regis qui vocatur presbyter Joannes*; cf. Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. Baluze, III. 624—8). Joinville (ed. Michel, 143) heard through Louis IX.'s communications with the Tartars, that the Prester's former kingdom lay between Persia and Tartary. Rubruquis (pp. 259—261, 295, of the *Recueil* text) makes the Prester chief of the Naimans, successor of Con Can King of the Kara-kitai, and predecessor of Unc [or Vut] King of Crit and Mecrit. Rubruquis' Con Can is no doubt the Gur Khan ('Universal Lord'), founder of the Kara-kitai empire—not 'when Antioch was taken by the Franks' as Rubruquis puts it, i.e. in 1098, but a generation later, in *c.* 1125—26. The Gur Khan's conquests from the Sayan Mts. and the modern Siberian border to Khiva and the Aral, answer fairly well to the descriptions of Alberic and Otto; but according to most Eastern Historians he was a Buddhist rather than a Christian. Abul-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus) makes Unc or Wang Khan himself to be the Prester or 'Malek Yuhanna' as well as King of the Keraits (converted by the Nestorians at the beginning of the 11th century, *c.* A.D. 1007, or at least between 1001 and 1012). Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 52—3, 163—6, 441—4; d'Avezac in the Paris *Recueil* (1839), IV. p. 553. The latter fastens upon the *Kerait* tradition as the essential feature. p. 117

Marco Polo makes Tenduc or 'Tanduc' the seat of the Prester, and says this region was still governed by his descendant George; this is repeated in part by John de Monte Corvino, who converted this King George († 1298), and his son John, to the Church of Rome. Ricold of Monte Croce refers vaguely to *Prebstre Jehan's* kingdom as stretching from Cathay to Media. Odoric with far more precision describes the land of *Pretozoan*, *de quo non est centesima pars eius quod quasi pro certo dicebatur*: its capital was called Tozan, Chosan or Cosan: it was not so big as Vicenza. The letter of Jan. 20, 1407, from Conrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, to Prester John, King of *Abassia* (mentioned in connection with Armenia), really refers to the Abassia or Abkhasia of the Caucasus, but the verbal confusion with the African Abassia or Abyssinia (Habesh) was very easy. The *Abissina* of the Caucasus also occurs in Alberic, as cited by d'Avezac, *Recueil*, IV. 557. In 1436 and 1448 we have two clear references to the African Prester; in a letter from Jean de Lastic, Grand Master of Rhodes, to Charles VII. of France, July 3, 1448, and in the 1436 *mappe-monde* of Andrea Bianco, where the *Imperium Prete Iani* is placed in Ethiopia. The notion of the African Priest-king, being much better founded than the Asiatic, gradually supplanted the latter; yet as late as the early 16th century the learned Jew Abraham Peritsol puts Prester John in Further India. On the other hand, as early as the 14th century we may find in the confused language of Jordanus of Columbum and in John de Marignolli a distinct leaning towards the Abyssinian claim, for though e.g. Jordanus places in or near *India tertia*

p. 117 (or Indo-China) that *Emperor of the Ethiopians whom you call Prestre Johan*, the aforesaid India was still occasionally imagined by Christian theorists (in the style of Ptolemy and of the chief Moslem geographers) as lying just opposite to, and at no great distance from, E. Africa, and the use of the term *Ethiopians* pointed to Africa. Four Asiatic Prester Johns have been often reckoned, but they may be reduced to two, (1) in North Central Asia:—among the Keraits or the Kara-kitai or in some other region N. of the Himalayas and Hindu Kush, (2) in Further India or Indo-China. The former is older and better attested—in fact has almost all history on its side, so far as the Priest-king of Christian Asia is an historical personage at all: the latter is later and of infinitely weaker basis in fact, but lasts longer, partly by a constantly recurring confusion with the Grand Lama of Tibet. On the other hand, the regular flow of Abyssinian pilgrims to the Holy Sites of Syria and the meetings of these pilgrims with the Franks of Syria, established the rival (African) Prester in western tradition. Cf. also d'Avezac, Introduction to Carpini in vol. IV. of the Paris *Recueil* (1839), pp. 547—564; Yule, *Cathay*, I. 173—182; Mosheim, *Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, Helmstadt, 1741 (a work which can only be used with caution), pp. 18—28, Appendices IV. and V., pp. 29—33, 33—5, and App. XLIV. pp. 114—17 (giving Monte Corvino, from Wadding); Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III. pt. 2, pp. 483—504, Rome, 1719—1728, quoting Abul-Faraj and the Syriac writer Mares; De Vitry in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1092—3; Abul-Faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, as cited by d'Avezac in *Recueil*, IV. 553; Karamzin's *Russian History* (for Von Jungingen's letter, from the archives of Königsberg), III. notes on pp. 387, 388 (French ed. of St Thomas and Jauffret, Paris, 1819); Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. Baluze, III. 777, (2), for the letter of Jean de Lastic; Jordanus, *Mirabilia*, Paris ed. in the *Recueil*, IV. 55—6; Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, VI. 69 etc.; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 7, 48—53, 163—172, 441—4; Ludolf, *Historia Æthiopica*, II. i. 5—12, and *Commentarius ad Historiam Æthiopicam*, pp. 218—222; Peritsol in Hyde's *Itinera Mundi*, p. 153; Odoric ch. 44, ed. Venni, p. 77, and in Long John of Ypres, *Lhystoire merveilleuse du Grant chan*, fol. 64 verso, also in Yule, *Cathay*, I. 146—7; II. Appendix I. p. xxxvi; Ricold in the *Lhystoire*, fol. 39; M. Polo, chs. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, pp. 174—184, 208—10, ed. Pauthier.

CHAPTER II.

l. 29 **1.** *Clergie men of Russia...males...like...dogges*: these and similar tales are frequent enough: cf. King Hayton the Armenian, who visited the Mongol Court in 1256. Mediaeval cartography abounds in such delineations; in particular the maps known as the Psalter (*c.* 1250), the Hereford and the Ebstorf (both *c.* 1290—1300), contain examples of these dog-men monsters, with innumerable others; their ultimate source may be found in such passages as Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII. 2, based on Ktesias and Megasthenes. The dog-headed men also occur in the Chinese Encyclopaedia *San-thsai-thu-hoei*; cf. *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. XII., pp. 287—8. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 257 (records of fabulous conquests of Buku, Khan of the Uigurs, who had his capital near the site of Karakorum in the [?] 8th century).

l. 36 **2.** *Met with the...dogges*: *Canes conuenerunt* in Hak.'s original.

[p. 59]

p. 118 l. 13 **3.** *Burithabeth...Pagans*: *Burithabeth*, *Buritibet*, or *Buruthabeth* (*-t*) is cer-

tainly our Tibet, as to which Carpini agrees with Rubruquis and Odoric about the children eating their dead parents (cf. Rub., p. 289 in the *Recueil*, Odoric ch. 45; in Yule, *Cathay*, pp. 151—2, and Appendix I. p. xxxvii). Rashid-ed-din used the term *Buritibet* as a synonym for Tibet, and d'Avezac well compares the name Borotala still existing, cf. the *Recueil* (1839) IV. 564—5; also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 82, 84, 318. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 21—5 (esp. 24—5), 204, 221, 224. p. **118**

CHAPTER 12.

1. *Lande of Kergis*: Hak.'s version of *terram Kergis, the country of the Kergis*; Hak. translates as if K. were a person, a king or ruler. Here Carpini's 'Kergis' do not refer to the Kirghiz, but to the Cherkess or Circassians of the Caucasus (Carp.'s *Caspian mts.*). The first expedition of the Mongols to this region was in 1227: the real Kirghiz submitted 20 years earlier, in 1207. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 101—2, 326—37; II. 15, 63, 626; Viv. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 120—3, 264—5, 268, 272; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 28, 102, 129, 186, 225, 229, 241, 295, 305, 316; II. 90. l. 27

2. *Encamped themselues*: in Hak.'s original *applicauerunt*. l. 30

3. *People inhabited vnder...ground in mountains*. On Troglodytic races cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI. 34; VII. 2 (based on Ktesias and Megasthenes). p. **119** l. 10

CHAPTER 13.

[p. **60**]

1. *Chingis...lawes and statutes*. On Chingiz' legislation, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 404—16. p. **120** l. 1

2. *Thiaday*: the best MSS. read *Chyaaday*, i.e. *Chagatai* (the 'Second Prince' of the Chinese traveller Chang-chun), to whom the Central Asiatic sub-kingdom fell. See note 5 in this chapter; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 99 and note 252. l. 9

3. *Name of...fourth is vnknowen* (*ignoramus*). This was Tului (called *To-lei* in the Chinese Annals *Yuan-Shi*), to whom Chingiz left the greater part of his Mongol troops (101,000 out of 129,000), the father of Mangu and Kublai. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 2, 3, 9—10, 248; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 113, 189, 278, 286, 290 and note 281. In the struggle between Chingiz' descendants, Tului's branch finally prevailed, ousting Okkodai's.

4. *Cuyne...now Emperour*: i.e. *Kuyuk*, the *Guyuk* of some Chinese records, son of Okkodai, grandson of Chingiz, and Great Khan 1246—8. Okkodai wished his grandson Shyramûn to succeed him, but Kuyuk's mother Turakina persuaded the electors to disregard this wish. On this illegality (with others) was founded the subsequent rejection of Okkodai's line and the substitution of Tului's, in Mangu's election, 1251: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 187—188, 195—199, 234—5, 245—250; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 160, 165, 308, 318, 333; II. 8 and note 742. l. 11

5. *Cocten...Corrensa*. These names are often corrupted beyond recognition in Hak. *Cocten* is *Kutan*, son of Okkodai; his name is also written *Cucten*, *Cuthen*, *Corten*, *Coithen*, *Cocthen*. *Chyrinen* (otherwise *Sirenen*, l. 12

p. 120 *Seremum*, etc.) is *Shyramûn*, grandson of Okkodai—miscalled 'son' by Carpini; Mangu had him drowned in China, after 1251; see note 4. *Bathy* is of course *Batu*, the 'firm' or 'stable' one, the great western conqueror, so fully described both by Carpini and Rubruquis, and the second son of Juji, the eldest of the male children of Chingiz. *Ordu* is *Hordu*, the eldest son of Juji; *Siba* is *Shyban* or *Shiban*; *Bora*, *Bura*; both these being younger and less important sons of Juji. *Hurin* is *Burin* or *Buri*, grandson of Chagatai, often mentioned by Rashid-ed-din, an enemy of Batu's, and finally a victim of the latter: cf. Rubruquis, *Recueil*, 279—280; see also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 333—4, on the insulting language of Buri and *Guyuk* against Batu. *Cadan* is the *Kadan* always associated with Buri in the western campaigns; according to Rashid and the best authority he was the son of Okkodai, not of Chagatai, as in Carpini. *Mengu* is *Mangu* or *Meungke*, successor of Kuyuk as Great Khan. *Bithat*, otherwise *Bethac*, *Bichac*, *Bechac*, *Becas*, is another son of Tului, perhaps the Bujek, Buygec, or Buchek of Oriental historians, the *Pocho* of the Chinese. *Seroctan*, otherwise *Serocten*, is *Surukten* in Sanang-Setsen, *Siurkukteni* in Rashid-ed-din, *Surukti* in Abul-Ghazi, *Surakhtham* in the Armenian Stephen Orpelian. *Ouygat* is perhaps only a mis-reading for *Buygec* or *Bithat*. *Cyrpodan* is *Charmaghan*, otherwise *Charmahan*, *Chormahan*, *Chirpodan*, the invader of S.W. Asia 1229—1231, etc.; died 1241; according to some, but untrustworthy, guides the conqueror of Damascus. *Hubilai* is *Kublai*, afterwards Great Khan and the friend of the Polos. *Sinocur* is *Shinkur*, a son of Juji. *Cara*, *Gay*, a mis-reading for *Caragay*, is *Karachar*, *Karajar*, or *Karanchay*, the fourth son of Okkodai by Turakina. *Sybedey* or *Sibedei* is *Sobadai*, *Subutai* or *Subudai*, one of the greatest Mongol generals, whose valour was recognised by the title of *Bahadur*, Carpini's *miles*. *Berka* is the Bereké of the Polos, the Berké or Barkai of others, who succeeded his elder brother Batu (after Sartach and another) as Khan of Kipchak or the western sub-kingdom. *Corrensa*, otherwise *Choranza*, *Corenza*, *Curoniza*, *Kurancha*, or *Karancha*, commanded on the western frontier in Europe, the line of the Dnyepr (see note 4, chap. 20). For other Tartar 'dukes' mentioned elsewhere in Carpini and Rubruquis, see the separate notices, e.g. for *Montii*, *Mauci*, or *Mauchi* note 5, ch. 21; for *Tirbon* see note 6, ch. 20; for *Sartach* and *Scacatai*, Rubruquis, pp. 217—19, 238—46, 253—9, 263, 268, 375—7, 379—80, 390 of the *Recueil* text; cf. d'Avezac in same vol. of the Paris *Recueil*, 1839, IV. 580—8; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 3, 8—9, 15, 99, 110—2, 138, 147—8, 156, 158, 159, 166, 245—69, 619, 621, 624—9; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 109, 112—3, 140, 158, 165, 167—8, 170, 185, 279, 287, 289—90, 293—4, 297, 300, 302, 309—12, 315, 318—9, 322, 324—5, 330—1, 333—4; II. 11, 15—16, 44, 141; with notes 280, 281, 381, 459, 668, 689, 742, 744, 746, 747, 758, 779, 819; Viv. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 265; Marco Polo, ed. Pauthier, chs. 2, 3, 68, 76, 194, 220—1, pp. 6—9, 184, 187, 238—41, 720, 754; Gaubil, *Gentchiscan*, 98, 101; Abul-Ghazi, *Histoire généalogique des Tartares*, 375—81, 392, etc., 445—7, 452—3, etc., 482—4 (1726); 100—1, 145—6, 148—64, 173—4, 178—82, 186—93 (1871—4); Abul-Faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, 306, 310, 320, 327.

In spite of many omissions, Carpini's list of the Mongol Princes is unrivalled in Mediaeval Christian literature and is fully confirmed by the best Asiatic writers of the period. M. Polo and King Hayton give genealogies parallel to Carpini's, but not so full, and apparently irreconcileable with the latter in places.

CHAPTER 14.

1. *Tribute payers*: in Hak.'s original *tributa*. p. **121** l. 7
2. *Well disposed people*: in Hak.'s original *fidelibus*. l. 20

CHAPTER 15.

1. *Duke Bathy his nephew*: in Hak.'s original, *B....qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum.* l. 32

2. *Countrie of Altisoldan ... Bisermini ... Saracens ... spake ... language of Comania.*

Bisermin, *Beserman*, *Besurman*, *Busurman*, *Bussurman*, *Basurman* (in Chinese, *Pu-su-man*) are forms of an old Slav corruption of *Musulman*. Sig. von Herberstein, the Imperial ambassador to Moscow in 1517 and 1526, and Alexander Guagnino, who about 1520 served in the Polish garrison at Vitebsk, both declare it was a regular term for all the Tartar neighbours of Moscow. So Old Slavonic vocabularies use it for Moslems in general: in modern Russian it means 'heretic,' 'scoundrel.' Carpini's use of Slav terms is shewn here, as in his *Neper*, *Don*, and *Volga*, and his *Bileri* for *Bulgari*, *Huyur* for *Uigur*, and *Chyaadai* for *Chagatai*.

The *Land of the Bisermini* in John de Plano is employed for Moslem Central Asia, the lands of the 'Altisoldan' or Khwarezm Shah ('Khorazmian Empire'), which stretched from the Ural river to Badakhshan, and from the sources of the Tobol to the Indian Ocean, the Zagros Mts., and the neighbourhood of Tabriz, including nearly all the S. and E. coasts of the Caspian. The 'Altisoldan' or Supreme Sultan of Khwarezm (treated by Hak. as if a proper name) was conquered by the Mongols in 1220: one Ala-ed-din Mohammed ended this dynasty, a fugitive in the islets of the Caspian. His four sons Rukn-ed-din, Gayyath-ed-din, Gelal-ed-din, and Ozlak-Shah were associated as co-sovereigns with their father. Cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 501—15; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 216—322; II. 255, and the map prefixed to vol. I.; Sprengel, *Geographische Entdeckungen*, 281; Karamzin, in the French version of 1819, *Histoire de Russie*, III. 280—2, IV. 52; Herberstein and Guagnino in Ramusio, II. 72, 171; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 70, 269; II. 78, and note 173.

3. *Barchin ... Orna*: in his fuller text, Carpini reckons as the chief cities l. 36
of the Bisermini:

(1) *Barchin*, otherwise *Karachin*, *Karkin*, *Pharchin* (in Hayton), *Barthra*, probably a little below Otrar on the Syr Daria, the *Ba-rh-jen* and *Pa-eul-ching* of the Chinese, the *Barkhaligh* of Persian authors.

(2) *Sarguit*, otherwise *Sakinc*, *Sargint*, whose site is quite conjectural.

(3) *Iankinc*, otherwise *Ianckin*, *Ianckint*, *Iakynt*, *Iamkint*, the *Yang-ki-kan* of the Chinese, the *Yangi-kand* of Persian authors, the *Yangi-kend* or 'new city' of its own Turkish people, described by Benedict the Pole as the first city met with—by Carpini and himself—in traversing *Turkia* (usually the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm in 13th cent. Latin, but here obviously Moslem Central Asia). Two famous *Yangi-kends* are known, (α) near the mouth of the Syr Daria, (β) on the upper Syr Daria, in Fergana.

(4) *Lemfinc*, otherwise *Lemfint*.

Here Carpini and Benedict certainly touched: that they visited Barchin, Iamkint, or Ornas is only conjecture, unless with Bretschneider we take *Lemfinc* to be a clerical error for *Ianckint*.

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p. 122 (5) *Orna[s]*, the *Ornarum civitas* of Benedict the Pole, who places it apparently in Gazaria (Khazaria, always understood as the modern S. Russia), is very hard to fix. Three of the Carpini MSS. agree with Benedict in placing it in S. Russia, *upon the river called Don*; but the chief MSS. (Petau and Corpus) say only *upon a certain great river*. D'Avezac argues powerfully for a position on the site of Azov or Tana (*Recueil*, IV. 505—12) but there is no other evidence for a town of Ornas at the Don Estuary; and the names of *Ornay*, *Ornache*, *Arnay*, *Arnache* and *Ertsa* in Moslem and Slav writers appear to refer to Urgenj (the modern Khiva, the capital of the Khwarezm oasis). According to Frähn, the *Orna[s]* of Carpini is the *Ornatia* or *Oruntia* of Alberic, and like *Ornache*, etc., is a corruption of *Kurganj*, i.e. *Urgenj*. A third identification with some point on the lower Syr Daria near Otrar is supported by several recent investigators, e.g. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, Hak. Soc. p. 14, note, based on Bretschneider's view.

In this connection we must also notice (1) that Benedict appears to confuse the Maeotid Marshes with the Aral Sea, or with certain swamps N. of the Aral, (2) that Carpini makes the Tartars, *after* taking Ornas, enter the *terra Turcorum* and *Russia*. By *terra Turcorum* here d'Avezac thinks *Comania* is meant, but in Friar John it generally signifies Moslem Central Asia, in other writers the Seljuk dominion of Rûm or Turkish Asia Minor. 'Barchin' and 'Iamkint' were captured by Juji (Chuchi), the eldest son of Chinghiz, in the spring of 1221. Cf. d'Avezac, as above; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 218—220, 221—2; *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, XII. 284, giving evidence of King Hayton, also in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 164—172; Gaubil, *Histoire de Gentchiscan*, p. 37; Frähn on Ibn al Wardi and other writers' use of *Ornay*, *Ornache*, etc., *Ibn Foszlan*, Beilage I. § 4, p. 162; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 170, 285, and notes 483, 676.

l. 13 4. *Russia...Kiow*. Here two expeditions are perhaps confused in one: (α) that of 1221—4, marked by the battle of the Kalka, May 31, 1223 (?), and the crushing defeat of the Russian Principalities in the open field by Subudai and Chebe, (β) that of 1236—43, led by Batu, and marked by the Mongol storm of Kiev, Vladimir, etc., and the conquest of all the Russian states except Old Novgorod by Lake Ilmen. The name of Kiev and of the grand duke *Mstislav* ('Mieczislav' or 'Mscislaw') passed, through the Mongol conquest, into the annals of China. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 338—345; II. 110—120, 183—86, esp. 119; Gaubil, *Gentchiscan*, 35—41, 90, 97, 103—4; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 295—8, 307, 318—20; II. 73—81, and notes under these pages, esp. no. 758; and on the earlier history of Kiev, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, ch. 9; Adam of Bremen, *Historia Ecclesiae Hammaburgensis*, II. 19 [66 Lapp.]; and above all Nestor, *passim*, and esp. chs. V., VI., VIII., XIII., XVIII. etc. (A.M. 6388—6621 = A.D. 880—1113). We may notice Cahun's suggestion, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, p. 350, that the Mongols were instigated by the Venetians to destroy Kiev, a dangerous rival to Italian trade in the Euxine. The full text of Carpini (in the *Recueil*, IV. 772; not in Hak.) gives a valuable reference to Italian traders at Kiev on the traveller's return to that city in 1247.

l. 22 5. *Out of Russia and Comania...Hungarians...Polonians*. After the campaigns of 1238—40, the Mongols were said to have collected 270,000 ears of Russians and Bulgarians [perhaps also of Kumans]; the right ears of the slain being cut off.

On the Mongols' attacks upon Hungary and Poland, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 120—83; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 323—32. p. **122**

6. *As is aforesaid*, after *slain*, properly belongs to the clause, *had the Hungarians manfully withstood them* (*si Hungari viriliter restitissent*). l. 24

7. *Morduans...monsters.* The *Morduans*, or as they are called later (in ch. 23 of Hak.'s division) *Morduyni*, are the Finnish Mordvins of the Middle Volga: traces of them are found in Kazan, Penza, Simbirsk, Saratov, Astrakhan, and Orenburg provinces; they are now almost entirely Russianized. l. 27

The *Byleri* or *Bulgaria Magna* are the Old or Black Bulgarians of Bolghar and the Volga below Kazan, at its junction with the Kama; they are called Bilar[s] in several Moslem geographers and historians, e.g. Abulfeda and Rashid-ed-din.

The *Bastarci* or *Hungaria Magna* are the Bashkirs of (i.e. thinly scattered over) the modern Samara, Orenburg, Perm, and Vyatka.

The *Parossits* are probably the Borassits of Edrisi (writing *c.* 1150), considered to be Slavs by the 'Nubian geographer,' but probably a Finnish tribe of the modern provinces of Perm and Vyatka. Some have identified them, apparently by mistake, with the *Berthas* to the S. of Great Bulgaria.

The *Samoyedes* still exist under that name in the modern province of Archangel (Arkhangelsk); cf. Engelhardt's admirable account of their present state, *Russian Province of the North*, pp. 272—98.

The *monsters* in Hak.'s ch. 23 are *sayd to have dogges faces*. There may be a reference here, d'Avezac suggests, to non-Samoyede peoples whose grave mounds and other remains are known to antiquaries as those of the *Chudes*. This term is the regular Russian one for 'Finn,' while the derivative *chudovishcha* means 'monster.' See note 1, ch. 11.

As to the effect of Mongol invasions in the Far North, it may be noticed that just as Matthew Paris relates that in 1238 the people of Gothland and Friesland, through fear of the Mongols, dared not leave their homes and come to the Yarmouth herring fishery (*Cronica Majora*, under A.D. 1238, vol. III. pp. 488—9, in Rolls series edition), so Torfaeus has preserved a record of a great migration of *Permiaks* or inhabitants of our 'North Russia' (the mediaeval Permia or Biarmia) to Norway, between 1217 and 1263. Cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 489—91, 492—3; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 185—6, 619—29; *Peuples du Caucase*, 72—81, 129—31, 213—8, 234—5, 257—8; Torfaeus, *Historia rerum Norvegicarum* (1711) IV. 303; Strahlenberg, *Description historique de l'empire russien* (1757, Amsterdam), II. 149—50, 166—8; Edrisi, *Climate*, V., section 4 [p. 142]; and Rubruquis, pp. 274—5, 327, in the *Recueil* text of 1839; the latter preserves a curious history of a Dominican mission from the Theiss in New Hungary to the Bashkirs of Old Hungary, noticed by Alberic Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, 564; see also Rockhill's version of Rubruquis, Hak. Soc., 1900, pp. 129—31; Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, 260—1, 274—6, maps 17—20; *Mémoires rel. à l'Asie*, I. 134; *Magazin Asiatique*, II. 52—96; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* (on Mordvins), I. 311, 317; II. 70, with notes 748, 830; (on Volga Bulgarians), I. 295—6, 300, 305, 307—10, and esp. II. 81—4, with notes 843—5; (on Bashkirs of Great Hungary), I. 306, 326—8 and note 767; Frähn in *Mémoires de l'Acad. de St Pét.*, série 6, sciences politiques, I. 546—8; II. 324, 387—8; Frähn, *Ibn Foszlan*, 164—9, 172—3; Herberstein in Ramusio, II. 170; Reinaud's *Aboulféda*, 216; *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* (for Rashid-ed-din), IX. 514.

CHAPTER 16.

p. **123** l. 5 **1.** *Duke Cyrpodan...Kergis*: a reference to Charmaghan's [Charmogun's] expedition into Persia, the Caucasus lands, Asia Minor, and Syria, in 1229—31, etc. Here again the *Kergis* seem to be the *Cherkess* or Circassians of the Caucasus, the *Cherkis* or *Kerkis* of Rubruquis (p. 252 of the *Recueil* text), the *Jerkes* of Abulfeda, the *Cherkassi* of the Russian Annals. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 337; II. 15, 63; Viv. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 120—3, 264—5, 272; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 112, 140, 295, 300, 305, 316; II. 90; with notes 280, 381; *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* XII. 199—203.

l. 16 **2.** *Ouertake*: in Hak.'s original *investigare*.

l. 21 **3.** *Isidore calleth...Cyclopedes*: after this Hak. does not translate *et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt*.

l. 25 **4.** *Armenia...Deurum...Baldach*: *Deurum* or rather *De Urum* refers to the Seljuk Sultanate of Rûm, Konieh, or Iconium, the *Turkey* par excellence of the 12th and 13th cents. *Baldach* of course is *Bagdad*; this is a very usual form: in Polo it is *Baudas*, e.g. ch. 24, Pauthier; it is the *Ba-ghi-da* and *Bao-da* of the Chinese. The reference here is probably to the Mongol raids of 1237, 1238, 1242, and 1243, in which they took Erzerûm (1242) and Erzinghian (1243), two of the chief centres of the Armenian race; these conquests were immediately followed by the submission of the Sultan of Rûm. But Bagdad was not taken till 1258, though tributary from about 1232, and Aleppo not till 1260, though it also had for some time owned vassalage. Cf. Abul-Faraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*, 312—14; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 123—125; also I. 118—120, 122, 138—9, 140 of the same.

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CHAPTER 17.

p. **124** l. 7 **1.** *As it were, one Colonel*, in Hak.'s original *vnum* simply.

l. 17 **2.** *They are enioined*, a trans. of *debent*.

l. 22 **3.** *Shoulders and breasts defenced*, in Hak.'s original *crura tecta* only.

l. 23 **4.** *Brigandines...iackes*, both translations of *loricas*.

l. 24 **5.** *Caparisons* [*for their horses*], in Hak.'s original *cooperturas*.

p. **125** l. 3 **6.** *A file in*, in Hak.'s original *limas...iuxta*.

l. 11 **7.** *Loopes*, in Hak.'s original *ansas*.

CHAPTER 18.

l. 39 **1.** *Maces*, in Hak.'s original *dolabrum*.

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p. **126** l. 20 **2.** *Spies*, in Hak.'s original *speculatores*.

l. 32 **3.** *Depart and casseir their bandes*, in Hak.'s original *recedere*, simply. Hak.'s translation is even looser than usual in these two chapters.

l. 37 **4.** *And not to lie out of their armour*, in Hak.'s original *nec iacere spoliati*. On the whole Mongol system of war Carpini is strikingly confirmed by other authorities: cp. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 386—404.

CHAPTER 19.

1. *Sea apostolique*: then held by Innocent IV. (Sinibaldo de Fieschi) 1243—54. p. **127** l. 3

2. *King of Bohemia*..., i.e. Wenceslas ['Wenceslaw,' 'Wacslaw'] III. or I. A.D. 1230—1253. l. 7

3. *We had* [*kinsfolkes in Polonia*], in Hak.'s original *habebat* [*consanguineos*...]. l. 9

4. After [*hauing given vs*...] *letters*, Hak. does not trans. *et bono conductu*. l. 11

5. *Chiefe houses*: in Hak.'s original *curias*. l. 12

6. *Boleslaus duke of Slesia* (Silesia), i.e. Boleslaw IV., *pudicus*, Duke of Lignitz, Sandomir, and Krakow. At Breslau Carpini found Benedict the Pole; he was already travelling with Stephen of Bohemia, who turned back at Kanev: cf. Benedict, p. 775 of the *Recueil* text (IV.); d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 121; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 321; and see note 14 of this chapter. l. 13

7. *Conradus duke of Lautiscia*, i.e. an uncle of Boleslaw, Prince of Lenczy, 'Mazovia, and Kuyavia,' whose seat was at Plotsk: in Benedict he is *dux Polonorum*, frankly (p. 774 of the *Recueil* text), cf. d'Ohsson and Bretschneider, as above. l. 15

8. *Wasilico duke of Russia*, i.e. *Vasilko* or Basil, Prince of [Volhynian] Vladimir or 'Vladimir-Volinski,' 1214—1271. l. 16

9. *Duches of Cracow...duke...*: the Duchess is Gremislawa, the Duke is Conrad of Lautiscia or Lenczy; he and his son Lesko or Leszek were now at Krakow; cf. d'Avezac, in *Recueil*, IV. 481, 482. l. 23

10. *Daniel...brother of Wasilico*: i.e. Danil or Daniel, Prince of Galicia (Galich) and Vladimir (1205—6, 1211—1264), one of the Russian leaders at the Kalka battle (May 31, 1223 (?)), celebrated by Karamzin as the bravest of their princes, now on a visit to the Tartar court. Cf. d'Avezac in *Recueil*, IV. 481—2; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 120; Karamzin, in the French version of 1819, *Histoire de Russie*, III. 287—9, 323—332; IV. 20—24. l. 35

11. *Lituanians...*: Kiev and all Western Russia passed under the rule of the Lithuanians, through the conquests of Ghedymin, 1315—1328, and Olgierd, 1328—1381; and so under Poland, through the union of the crowns of Lithuania and Poland in 1385 (marriage of Jagello and Jadwiga or 'Hedwig'). p. **128** l. 2

12. *Danilon*, i.e. *Danilov*; the full text of Carpini here (Petau MS.) reads *Darifone*, which d'Avezac, *Recueil*, 737, emends to *Danilove*. There are several places of this name in the Ukraine. l. 6

13. *Millenary*: in original *millenarius*, the Mongol *mingatan* or commander of a thousand; cf. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, etc. (Hak. Soc.) p. 4. l. 9

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14. *Second daye after...Purification...Canow immediatly vnder...Tartars*: i.e. Carpini, Benedict, and Stephen, on Feb. 4, 1246, arrived at Kanev on the Dnyepr, 105 kils. or over 60 miles S.E. of Kiev, just above the junction of the Dnyepr and the Ros. Here Stephen of Bohemia was left behind (*tertio fratre debilitato*, Benedict, p. 775 of the *Recueil* text). l. 21

15. *Michaeas*: otherwise *Micheas* (in Vinc. Beauv. and d'Avezac's *Recueil* text, p. 737; *Mitheas* in the Petau MS.). This general's camp appears to be what Benedict means by the *secunda custodia* of the Tartars (p. 775 of the *Recueil* text). l. 24

CHAPTER 20.

p. **128** l. 32 **1.** *Vnciuil and horrible maner*: in Hak.'s original *horribiliter*, simply.

l. 35 **2.** *Victuals* [*at our handes*]: in Hak.'s original *cibarijs*.

p. **129** l. 12 **3.** *Mountaineirs*: in Hak.'s original (Vinc. Beauv. text) *Montanorum*, a misreading for *Moravorum*, *men of Moravia*, as in the *Recueil* text, d'Avezac, p. 739.

l. 20 **4.** *Correnſa*: so in Hak.'s original; in the Petau MS. *Corenza*, and so in the *Recueil* text, d'Avezac, pp. 739, 740, 743, 744, 747, etc.; in Benedict, p. 775 of same text, *Curonisa*. See note 5, chap. 13.

l. 23 **5.** *Together with a guide*: in Hak.'s original *cum eorum ducatu*.

CHAPTER 21.

l. 38 **1.** *For we passed through*: in Hak.'s original *et insuper veneramus per*.

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p. **130** l. 14 **2.** *Bathy...mightiest prince...except...Emperour*: *Batu*, Rubruquis' *Bautu*, the *Ba-du* of Chinese annals (the *Yuan-Shi*), which also term him *Great Prince* (*ta-wang*). He was also known as *Sain Khan*, the *Good Lord* or *Gracious Sovereign*; cf. M. Polo, ch. 220, p. 754, Pauthier. His liberality was famous for a Mongol; in his life he affected the strict and primitive Nomade chief, uncorrupted by town life. On the death of Juji, his father, he divided his heritage with his brother Orda, the latter taking the lands and troops N. of the Jaxartes or Sihun (Syr Daria) and E. of the Ural river, Batu receiving all W. of the Ural. After the campaigns of 1236—43 he became the most powerful of the Mongol Princes, and in 1248 he put his nominee Mangu on the throne of Chingiz. Cf. note 7, chap. 21, and note 5, chap. 13; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 165, 167, 300, 308, 311, 318, 322, 324—5, 331—4; II. 11, 15, 141; also notes 459, 741.

In Hayton, Batu is the *great basiliopator* (*father of kings*). Carpini's spelling is practically that of the Russian annals, *Bati*, another proof of the Slavonic influences in his work.

Simon of St Quentin (in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, book XXXII. [otherwise XXXI.], ch. 34) makes Batu's (*Batoth's*) army in 1236—43 amount to over 600,000 men, 160,000 Tartars, 450,000 vassals, etc.: see also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 334—7. For Batu's foundation of Sarai, cf. note 7, chap. 21.

For his honorific title of Aka or Aga, marking him as chief of the descendants of Chingiz after the Great Khan, cf. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 266; d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 484. For his refusal of the Imperial throne after Kuyuk's death, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 249. For Rubruquis' account of him, in close agreement with Carpini's, cf. pp. 264, 267, 268, 273, 280, 296, 307, 351, 353, 375, 377, 378 etc. in the *Recueil* text.

l. 16 **3.** *First tuesday in Lent...Maundie thursday*: i.e. from the 27th of Feb. to the 5th of Apr., 1246.

l. 21 **4.** *Comania...Neper*: Carpini's mention of the Borysthenes by its 'Slav' (or rather local) name of Dnyepr is not the earliest in Christian literature, as often assumed (e.g. appar. by Rockhill, Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 8). *Danapris* is in the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, IV. 5 (p. 179 Pinder and Parthey),

c. A.D. 670. The forms Δάναπρι, Δάναστρι occur in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, chap. 8, before A.D. 959. p. 130

Also *Naperfida* for *Naper fluv.* appears in the Cotton or Anglo-Saxon map in the British Museum (Cotton MSS., Tiberius B. V.) of *c.* A.D. 990; while of course it is the regular term among Russian and other Slavonic writers, e.g. Nestor, chaps. I., IV., VI., VII., XII., XV., etc. (A.M. 6368—6370, etc. = A.D. 860—862). These rivers, in their lower courses, flowed through what had long been Comania or Kuman-land: a region where the Mongols had now almost extirpated their Turkish predecessors. The *Komans*, *Kumans*, or *Kipchak* of Carpini and Rubruquis (cf. Rub. in *Recueil*, p. 246, etc.) are the *Polovtsi* of the Russian Chronicles, in succession to the Pechinegs. The name of Comania occurs in the Arab Geographers, e.g. Edrisi and Ibn Khaldun: the people and language were purely Turkish. Cf. the vocabulary of 1303 in *Mémoires rel. à l'Asie.*

5. *Montij*, otherwise *Monty*, *Moncy*, *Mauci*, etc., is *Mauchi*, the second son of Chagatai. l. 24

6. *Don...Tirbon*: here again the 'Slav' or local name for the Tanais is noticeable (as in Benedict the Pole, Carpini's comrade), and may be contrasted with Rubruquis, who only gives us the classical name, pp. 216, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 266, in the *Recueil* text. For earlier instances of the word *Don* we must go to the Russian Annals, e.g. Nestor, as in chap. XC., A.M. 6619 (A.D. 1111), of Nestor's *Chronicle*, the *Pervonachalnaya Lyetopis.* l. 25

Tirbon, or *Tyrbon*, in Vinc. Beauv.'s text, is *Carton* and *Carbon* in the Petau and Corpus MSS., and *Cartan* in the *Recueil* text, d'Avezac, 743.

7. *Volga...Bathy*: the Volga, Ptolemy's Rha, is usually called Etil[ia], Ethil[ia], Itil[ia], Atil[ia], Attil[a] in Latin, as in Asiatic and Byzantine, Mediaeval Literature; the 'Slav' or local name here given is the one used in the Russian Annals, e.g. Nestor, throughout, as in chap. LXXXI. (A.M. 6604 = A.D. 1095); it does not seem to occur earlier in Latin or Greek writers, cf. Menander Protector, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXIII. 806—811 in the Bonn edition, pp. 295—302, 380—5; and in Muller's *Fragmenta Histor. Graec.* IV. 235, etc. (account of the Embassy of Zemarchus, A.D. 568—9, from the Emperor Justin II. to the court of the Turkish Khan Dizabul). l. 28

Batu's encampment on the Volga dated from 1235. Here he founded Old Sarai (long after Carpini's visit) in about 1253—56 (though the foundation has often been ascribed to Berké, 1257—1265), and here he died in 1256. Cf. note 2, chap. 21, and note 5, chap. 13; Yule, *M. Polo*, I. 5; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 300, 306; II. 71; and note 831; also I. 165, 167; II. 8, 81, 141 of same work; *Russia and Asia*, 1876, by Prof. Grigoriev, identifies the ruins near Tsarev, on the left or east bank of the Akhtuba, with Old Sarai, but see p. 337. Rubruquis, pp. 376, 378, is decisive about the foundation by Batu.

8. *Iaec*: otherwise the *Yaik* or Ural river, the *Iagac* [*-ag*] of Rubruquis. Here the old name is kept, as in the Russian chronicles, cf. Menander Protector as ref. to in prev. note: Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 167, 300, 301, and esp. 306. l. 29

9. *Great sea...arme of S. George...Constantinople*: on the 'arm,' or strait, of St George (the Dardanelles or Hellespont), cf. Saewulf, pilgrim narrative of *c.* A.D. 1102—3, end, in *Recueil*, vol. IV. 1839, p. 853; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 154, 155. l. 33

Also cf. Will. de Boldensell, a traveller of 1336—in Canisius, *Antiq. Lect.* (Basnage), IV. 337—57; d'Avezac in *Recueil*, IV. 486.

p. **130** l. 36 **10.** *Exonerate themselves into the Grecian sea...called Mare maior* [sic]: in Hak.'s original, *intrant mare Graeciae...dicitur Magnum mare.*

Carpini here confuses the Euxine with the Caspian, or rather makes Dnyepr, Don, Yaik, and Volga flow into one sea and that the Pontus; in this he had at least the apparent countenance of some ancient authors, cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 486—7.

CHAPTER 22.

p. **131** l. 7 **1.** *Bathy...Comania*: see notes 2 and 4, chap. 21.

l. 8 **2.** *Tabernacles*: in original *stationibus.*

l. 17 **3.** *The Orda...Eldegay*: on the state kept by Batu, cf. Rubruquis in the *Recueil*, IV. 267—273.

l. 26 **4.** *Good friday*: in original *die Parasceue*, i.e. April 6, 1246.

l. 28 **5.** *Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages*: the 'Tartar' language must be Mongol; the 'Saracen' is probably Arabic, though some have suggested a dialect of Turkish.

l. 40 **6.** *Once the kings of Hungaria*: i.e. Bela IV.'s. Bela was successor of Andrew IV., and reigned 1235—70; cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 132—159.

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CHAPTER 23.

p. **132** l. 20 **1.** *Easter euen*: i.e. April 7, 1246.

l. 23 **2.** *Emperor Cuyne*: Hak.'s favourite form of the name: on Kuyuk see chap. 13, note 4.

l. 34 **3.** *Skillet*: in Hak.'s original *caldario.*

l. 35 **4.** *Through Comania*: cf. note 4, chap. 21 and note 13, chap. 23.

p. **133** l. 1 **5.** *Morduyni Byleri*: translated by Hak. as if the name of one people; in Hak.'s original *Morduynos, Byleros*, i.e. Mordvins and Bulgarians. See note 7, chap. 15.

l. 2 **6.** *Bastarci...Hungaria magna*: see note 7, chap. 15.

l. 3 **7.** *Parositae and...Samogetae*: see note 7, chap. 15.

l. 4 **8.** *Dogges faces*: see note 7, chap. 15.

l. 6 **9.** *Alani...Circassi...Gazari*: the *Alans* are also called Ases, Osses, or Oss[etians]. They occupied an extremely important position among the Mongol vassals; many of them were Christians. Cf. note 8 to chap. 16 of Rubruquis.

The Circassi are the Cherkess[es] and the Gazari the Khazars. On these cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 494—5; Frähn, *De Chazaris*, 1822, throughout; *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, XII. 530, giving extracts from King Vakhtang's *History of Georgia*; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 295, 298—9, 305, 316; II. 84—90, 93; d'Ohsson, *Peuples du Caucase*, 31—71; 186—212; Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, 174—181, 268—273; *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, I. 147—156; V. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 186—7.

l. 7 **10.** *Iberia...Cathes...Brutaches*: *Iberia* should be meant for *Georgia.* The *Cathes* [*Cathos*, otherwise *Tacos*, *Cacos*, *Cachos*, in MSS. of Carpini and Vincent of Beauvais] are probably the still existing *Kakhetians* (Kakhs), whose wine is so famous. The *Brutaches* [*Brutachos*], otherwise *Bruthachos*, *Brucarchos*, are

connected by d'Avezac, *Recueil*, 496—7, with the district, and river, of *Borchalo* in the Kur basin, the *Berdaj* of Moslem writers; cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 294, 299; V. St Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, II. 356—9; Sprengel, *Geographische Entdeckungen*, 284; Rubruquis, p. 382 of *Recueil* text, ref. to Jews in Shirvan; Haxthausen, *Trans-Caucasia*, 136, etc.; Forster, *Histoire des découvertes et voyages dans le Nord*, I. 153. p. **133**

11. *Scythia...Georgia...Armenia...Turkie*: *Scythia* is Hak.'s trans. of *Cithorum*. The *Georgians* are elsewhere called by Carpini *Obesi* or *Obeses*, i.e. *Abases* or *Abkhasians* of the western Caucasus. See p. 709 of the *Recueil* text, and d'Avezac, p. 497 of the same vol. l. 9

12. *On...West...Hungaria, and Russia*: this makes Comania or Kuman-land stretch far northward. Its most northerly region seems to have been that around the Don sources.

13. *Kangittae*: the Κάγγαρ or Κάγκαρ of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the *Canglae* of Rubruquis (pp. 265, 274 of the *Recueil* text), and of Abul-Ghazi; Rub. makes them a branch of the Komans. They are the *Kankalis* and *Kankli* of Moslem writers, the *Kanglin* of the Chinese, and perhaps identical with some of the Pechinegs, Patzinaks, or Bajnaks, overthrown by the Komans in the 11th—12th centuries and driven out of our S. Russia into the poorer steepes E. of the Yaik or Ural river. This identification with certain tribes of the Pechinegs seems approved by Constantine Porph., *De Adm. Imp.* ch. 37; Anna Comnena says the Κάγγαρ spoke the Koman language. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 28, 223, 229, 299, 301—4, and note 735; d'Avezac, *Recueil*, IV. 499—500; d'Ohsson, *Peuples du Caucase*, 117—21; 254—60; Abul-Ghazi, *Histoire généalogique des Tartares*, 41, 83—9 (1726); 17, 37—8, 50, 124 (1871—4). Acc. to Klaproth, the Nogai Tartars, representing a branch of the Pechinegs, kept the name of *Kangli* in the early 19th century. l. 15

14. *Ieroslaus duke of Russia*: see note 3, chap. 30, and note 5, chap. 5. l. 17

15. *From the eight day after Easter vntill Ascension day*: i.e. from April 16 to May 17, 1246. l. 22

CHAPTER 24.

1. *Bisermini*: see note 2, chap. 15. l. 32

2. *Soldan Alti*: in original *Altisoldanus*, see note 2, chap. 15. l. 35

3. *On...South...Ierusalem and Baldach...Burin and Cadan...T'hyaday... On North...blacke Kythayans...Ocean...Syban*: see note 5, chap. 13. l. 37

For S. and N. read S.W. and N.E. Carpini's directions are somewhat astray here, but usually they are fairly accurate and better than Rubruquis'.

4. *From...Ascension, vntil eight daies before...S. Iohn Baptist*: i.e. from 17 May to 17 June, 1246. p. **134** l. 4

5. *Daunce before*: in Hak.'s original, *plaudere coram*. l. 9

6. *Ordu...auncient vnto all the Tartarian dukes* [*omnium...antiquiorem*]: on Ordu or Hordu, see note 5, chap. 13. In Mangu's reign, Batu took precedence of all after the Great Khan himself, see note 2, chap. 21. l. 20

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CHAPTER 25.

1. *Euen of Saint Peter and...Paul*: i.e. June 28, 1246. l. 36

2. *Naymani...Pagans*. On June 28, 1246, the travellers entered the l. 37

p. **134** Naiman country. 'Some writers call the Naimans Turks, others Mongols. Their centre was on the upper Irtish; the Kirghiz were to the north, the Kerait to the east'; but cf. note 5, chap. 8.

p. **135** l. 8 **3.** *Day of Marie Magdalene... Cuyne the Emperour elect*: i.e. on July 22, 1246, they reached the Mongol court.

l. 12 **4.** *Court Imperiall*: in Hak.'s original *curiam solennem.*

l. 18 **5.** *Horse-fleshe*: in Hak.'s original *eis* [*equis*].

CHAPTER 26.

l. 31 **1.** *Was mainteyned a verie solemne and royall court*: in orig. *adunabatur curia solennis.* This *curia solemnis* for the election of Kuyuk was held, d'Ohsson thinks, near Lake Gueuca, where the last Emperor (Okkodai) had often resided in summer. Chagatai died soon after Okkodai; otherwise probably he and not Kuyuk would have been elected at this *curia solemnis*, which only took place after more than four years of Turakina's regency. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 195 etc., 217—19.

l. 33 **2.** *Fine...cloth*: in Hak.'s original *purpura.*

l. 35 **3.** *Wall of planks*: in Hak.'s original *ligneum tabulatum.*

p. **136** l. 2 **4.** *Blew robes*: in Hak.'s original *blaueis purpuris.*

l. 21 **5.** *Could not drink* [*mares milke*]: in Hak.'s original *non bibebamus.*

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l. 26 **6.** *Ieroslaus of Susdal... Kythayans... Solangi*: cf. note 2, chap. 29; note 3, chap. 30. On Yaroslav of Suzdal, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 196, and on the Mongol capture of Suzdal, *ibid.* II. 115—6.

l. 28 **7.** *Sonnes...of...king of Georgia...4000. ambassadors*: this was 'as told us by the agents' (*procuratoribus*) Carpini adds. Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 196—7; II. 217—220; Simon of St Quentin, in Vinc. Beauv., *Spec. Hist.* XXXII. (XXXI.) 50. Also note 5 to chap. 6 of this version. The *ligier* of the Caliph is a *nuncius* in Hak.'s original: the 'ten soldans besides' included Rokn-ed-din, afterwards Sultan of Rûm, the princes of Mosul, Fars, and Kerman, the brother of the Prince of Aleppo, and the envoys of the Assassin or Ismaelian Prince of Alamut. This catalogue may be paralleled by Simon's account of the uncle of the Prince of Aleppo and the brother of the Sultan of Mosul at the camp of Baiju, *ipsum cum trina genuum flexione, capitumque in terram allisione ...adorantes.* We may notice that Carpini only speaks of *genuflexions*, never of prostrations; Friar John is mistaken in thinking that the Great Khan never spoke directly with any man, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 218.

l. 35 **8.** *Without the lists*: in Hak.'s original *extra tabulatum.*

CHAPTER 27.

p. **137** l. 4 **1.** [*Wands..*] *purple wooll*: in Hak.'s original *lanam coccineam.* These were the tufts or *tughs*, in all ages emblems of Nomade Sovereignty in Asia.

l. 12 **2.** *Day of...Assumption*, i.e. Aug. 15, 1246.

l. 17 **3.** *Next vnto the ayre*, not in Hak.'s original.

l. 18 **4.** *Feast of Saint Bartholomew*, i.e. Aug. 24, 1246.

CHAPTER 28.

1. *Was about* [*to become...Christian*], in Hak.'s original *deberet*. p. **137** l. 40

2. *Cleargie men of the Christians*: after this Hak. does not translate the clause *et expensas eis dabat*. p. **138** l. 1

3. *Great* [*Tent*], in Hak.'s original *maius* [*tentorium*]. l. 3

4. *According to...custome of...Graecians*: i.e. according to the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church. l. 4

5. *Ring belles*: in Hak.'s original *pulsant* only. l. 5

6. *By a speaker*: in Hak.'s original *per interpositam personam*: see chap. 26, note 7. l. 10

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7. *Occoday...poisoned*: on the death of Okkodai in 1241, see d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 86—7. Okkodai really died of drunkenness, alternating with over-violent pastimes. He was 56 years old, and had reigned 13; he was buried in the valley of Kimen. He was famous for his generosity: 'the only use of wealth is to win the hearts of our subjects.' Turakina was the chief of more than 60 wives and concubines of Okkodai's, Kuyuk being Turakina's eldest son; her other four sons, Kutan, etc. never came to the throne; see d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 99, after Rashid-ed-din. l. 33

8. *This posie*: in original *hoc*, simply; on Kuyuk's seal-inscription cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 235—6. The description of Kuyuk given by Carpini must be compared with that of Chinese authors who describe the Khan's favour to the Kashmir lamas Watochi and Namo: Rashid-ed-din complains of Moslem humiliations in Kuyuk's reign: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 234, 235; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 160, 165, 185, 308, 318—9, 333; II. 8 and notes 434—6, 742, 758. l. 39

CHAPTER 29.

1. *Chingay...chiefe secretary*: on the *protonotarius*, 'chancellor,' minister of state, general, and provincial governor Chinkai, Chen-hai, or Chingcai, cf. note 4, ch. 31, also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 60—1, 63, 81, and note 144; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 189, 269. The fullest account of Chinkai is in the *Yuan-Shi*, ch. 120, the essence of which Bretschneider professes to give in his note 144 (as above). p. **139** l. 4

2. *Duke of Solangi*. Cp. note 6, chap. 26. The *Solangi* are the inhabitants of Korea and Manchuria (or great part of these regions), known as *Solonghos* by the Mongols, the *Langa and Solanga* of Rubruquis, pp. 289—90, the *Sulangka* of Moslem writers. Chingiz first conquered Korea in 1218; it revolted from the Mongols in 1231—2, and was then re-conquered, 1235—41; cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 360. King Vang-tung, after his revolt, took refuge in Tsiang-Hua island, off the W. coast of Korea. l. 6

3. *Trappers and caparisons*: in Hak.'s original *phaleratos et armatos*. l. 30

CHAPTER 30.

1. *Tent...Kythayans*: on the skill of the Chinese as artificers see Carpini above. p. **140** l. 5

p. **140** l. 9 **2.** *Stage...of boords*: in Hak.'s original *solariolum...de tabulis.*

l. 29 **3.** *Ieroslaus...Soldal*: i.e. Yaroslav of Vladimir and Suzdal: see note 6, chap. 26. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 76—7, also gives the version of the Russian Annals, that Yaroslav died on his way home from the Mongol court. His body was brought back to Vladimir.

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l. 31 **4.** After *eate and drink* Hak. does not translate the words *de manu ipsius.* On Turakina's regency, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 188—195.

l. 34 **5.** *Strange blew colour*: in Hak.'s original *miro modo glaucum.*

CHAPTER 31.

p. **141** l. 6 **1.** *Flag of defiance*: in Hak.'s original *vexillum.*

l. 15 **2.** *Russian goldsmith...Cosmas*: cf. Rubruquis on William Buchier the French Christian, goldsmith at Karakorum, pp. 309—10, 334, 337, 342, 374, etc. in *Recueil* text (not in Hak.).

l. 34 **3.** *Day of S. Martine*: i.e. Nov. 11, 1246.

l. 35 **4.** *Kadac...Bala*: Kadak was a sort of President of the Mongol Imperial Council of State; in Hak.'s original *procurator*, translated *principal agent.* Cf. note 1, chap. 29; also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 189, 269, on the position of Kadak and 'Chingay' under Ogul Gaimish, their conspiracy with her on behalf of the House of Okkodai, and their execution by Mangu.

l. 38 **5.** *Eche sentence*: in Hak.'s original *singulas orationes.*

l. 41 **6.** *Haue mistaken*: in Hak.'s original *minus haberemus*: the full text of this letter exists only in the Colbert MS. of Carpini, immediately before the text of Benedict the Pole, and is printed by d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, IV. 594—5.

CHAPTER 32.

p. **142** l. 21 **1.** *Spies and intelligencers in our dominions*: in Hak.'s original *exploratores terrae*, simply.

l. 23 **2.** *Seruants...legates of Almaine*: in Hak.'s orig. *seruientes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemanniae*, viz. the Dominican Hugo de Santocaro.

l. 26 **3.** *Dutch*: in Hak.'s original *Teutonicis.*

[p. **71**]

l. 36 **4.** *Feast of Saint Brice*, i.e. Nov. 13, 1246.

l. 39 **5.** [*Gowne*]...*furre...outside*: in Hak.'s original *pilos de foris.* Here the word *purpura* translated *a piece of purple* seems used in the sense of dress of honour or robe of ceremony.

p. **143** l. 1 **6.** *Yarde*: in Hak.'s original *passum.*

CHAPTER 33.

l. 11 **1.** *Feast of...Ascension*, i.e. May 9, 1247.

l. 12 **2.** *Bathy...written*: in Hak.'s original *Bathy...quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare.*

3. *The thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saterday*: in Hak.'s original *sabbatho infra octauas Pentecostes*, i.e. June 2, 1247. p. **143** l. 17

4. *Holde...Pope for...Lord*: not only Daniel and Vasilko, but also Yaroslav of Suzdal seem to have given Carpini promises of this nature: cp. letter of Innocent IV. to Alexander, Prince of Suzdal, 10 Kal. Feb. 1248. l. 40

§ 9. Critical Notes to Rubruquis.

ABBREVIATIONS OF MSS. etc.

A. = London (British Museum) MS. King's Library, 14 c. XIII. (from fol. 225 r°, onwards).

B. = Cambridge (Corpus) MS. No. 66 in C.C.C.C. Libr., beginning at fol. 67.

C. = Cambridge (Corpus) MS. No. 407 in C.C.C.C. Library, beginning from fol. 37 r°.

D. = Cambridge (Corpus) MS. No. 181 in C.C.C.C. Libr.

E. = Leyden MS. No. 77 in Leyden University Libr.

[? F. = Phillipps MS., a MS. bought from Libr. of John Cochran.]

H. = Hakluyt's text.

P. = Paris text, from the standard edition of Rubruquis by Francisque Michel and Thomas Wright in Vol. IV. of the *Recueil de voyages* etc. of the Paris Geog. Soc., 1839, pp. 199—396: text, pp. 213—396.

M.W. = Michel and Wright; this refers to these editors' collation.

[Certain headings for chapters given in H. do not appear in P. They will be followed here, for convenience. On the Rubruquis MSS., see Introductory Note to this Vol.]

CHAPTER 1.

[p. **71**]

1. *Transibit*, H.; *transiet*, P. [not in M. W.'s collation]. p. **144** l. 13
2. *Bulgarici*, H.; *vulgariter*, P. [not in M. W.'s collation]. l. 25
3. *Mille octo*, H., with A., C.; *mille cccc*, P. with D., B.; but in B. there has clearly been alteration. l. 26 l. 28
4. *Prouinciae*, H., with A.; *puncte*, P.

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5. *Kersoua*, H. [and later]; *Kersona*, P. [and later]. p. **145** l. 1
6. *Bombasio*, H.; *gambasio*, P. l. 10
7. *Species*, H., with E.; *spices*, P. l. 11
8. *Matriga*, H.; *Matrica*, P.; *Matrita*, A. and C.; *Materta*, B. l. 12
9. [*Mercatores de*] *Constantinopoli*, H. with B.; ...*Constantinopolim*, P. [not in M. W.]. l. 17
10. *Matertam*, H. with B.; *Matricam*, P.; *Matritam*, A. and C. [and later *Materta*, *Matrica*, etc.]. l. 18
11. *Thosas*, *borbatas*, H.; *et hosas borbatas*, P. l. 20
12. *Maricandis*, H.; *Maritandis*, P.; *Maritanais*, D. l. 24
13. Before *Tanais* and after *orificium* P. inserts *maris*. l. 25
14. *Valakia*, H. *Blakia*, P. l. 34

p. **145** l. 35 **15.** *Solonomam*, H., with C.; *Sclavoniam*, P.; *Solonomiam*, B.; M. W. wrongly give *Soloniam* (for *Solonomam*), as A.'s reading.

l. 37 **16.** [*Totum*]*frumentum*, H.; ...*ferrum*, P.

l. 38 **17.** [*Applicuimus*...] *Soldaiae*, H.; ...*Soldaiam*, P.; *Soldaya*, B. [*Soldia*, A., B., C., later]; not in M. W.

l. 39 **18.** *Praeuenerant*, H., with B.; *pervenerant*, P.; not in M. W.

l. 40 **19.** *Dixerunt*, H., with A., C. [and later]; *dixerant*, P. with D.

l. 41 **20.** *Sartach*, H.; *Sarcac*, P.; *Sarcaht*, A., C.; *Sarthac*, B. [later P. reads *Sarcaht*, *Sarcach*, *Sarchac*, *Sarchat*; also *Sartaht* and *Sartacht* in A.].

[The words *nec alicujus*...*applicuissem*, in the next sentence, are omitted by E.]

p. **146** l. 5 **21.** After *Baatu*, P. adds *in yeme*; not in M. W.

l. 6 **22.** *Audiuimus*, *dixi*, H. [not *audivemus* as given by M. W.] with B.; *audivimus dici*, P.

l. 17 **23.** [*Vel equos pro*] *summarijs*, H., with A., B., C.; ...*saginariis*, P.

l. 19 **24.** [*Quod*] *non acciperem*, H., with B.; ...*acciperem*, P.

l. 20 **25.** *Apportant* [*Ruteni*], H., with B.; *portant*..., P.; *aportant*..., A., C.

l. 21 **26.** *Vellem*, H.; *nollem*, P.

l. 27 **27.** *Muscatum*, H., with A.; *muscatel*, P.; *muscatos*, B., C.

l. 35 **28.** *Lectisternia*, H., with A., B., E.; *lectiscrinia*, P., with best MSS.

[p. **73**]

l. 37 **29.** *Cremona*, H., with A., B., C.; *Cremonia*, P.; *Tremonia*, E.

30. *Goset*, H., A., B.; *Gossel*, P.; *Gosset*, C., E., D.

l. 39 **31.** *Nostra eleemosyna*, H., with B.; *vestra*..., P.; *nostra elemosyna*, A.

p. **147** l. 16 **32.** *Salmastri*, H., with A.; *salinastri*, P.; *salmastir*, D., E.

l. 17 **33.** *Efficit salem*, H.; *efficitur sal*, P.

l. 20 **34.** *Ipperperam*, H.; *yperperam*, P.; *Yperperant*, D., E.; *Iperperam*, A., B., C.

CHAPTER 2.

l. 28 **1.** *Scythiam*, H.; *Cithiam*, P.; *Sichiam*, E.

l. 31 **2.** *Debet* [*pascere*], H.; *debeat*..., P. Not in M. W.

p. **148** l. 1 **3.** The words *circa collum*...*suspendunt filtrum* are wanting in D., E.

l. 3 **4.** *Consumunt*, H.; *consuunt*, P.

5. *In* [*faciendo*], H.; *vel aliud* [*f*...*o*], P.; *in aliud* [*f*...*o*], E., B., D.

l. 5 **6.** Before *triginta pedes* P. inserts *aliquando*.

l. 17 **7.** [*Imbuto*] *seuo*, H.; ...*cepo*, P.

[p. **74**]

l. 30 **8.** *Sexdecem*, H.; with A., B., C.; *xxvi*, P. [B. omits *habet*].

l. 39 **9.** *Plana*, H., with A., B., C.; *plena*, P.

CHAPTER 3.

p. **149** l. 39 **1.** *Xenia*, H., with E.; *exenia*, P.; *et exernia que differentur*, M. W. wrongly give as read by all MSS. but E. [*exennia*, A., B.]; M. W. give H.'s reading as *exenia*.

l. 40 **2.** After *bancus*, H. adds *ibi est*; after *ciphis*, P. adds *stat in introitu*, which H. omits with A., C., D., E.; D. and E. omit all the last six words of the chapter as given in P.

CHAPTER 4.

1. Before *de melle*, P. adds *de tritico*; H. omits, with A. p. **150** l. 3
2. *Claret* [*sicut vinum*], H.; *clarum*, P.; *claro*, A. l. 4
3. Before *incipit* P. adds *dominus*; H. omits. l. 9
4. After *tres veniunt cantantes*, P. adds *et saltantes*; B. omits. l. 20

[p. **75**]

5. *Terunt*, H., with A., B., C.; *ferunt*, P. l. 26

CHAPTER 5.

1. *Morticinia*, H., with E.; *morticina*, P. [and later]. l. 29
2. [*Pulcherrimos*] *soculares*, H.; *...sotulares*, P.; not in M. W. p. **151** l. 1
3. *Qua* [*solemus*], H.; *qualibet...*, P.; *quolibet*, D. l. 5
4. *Aliter*, H.; *autem*, P. l. 12
5. *Saptargat*, H.; *Captargac*, P.; *Scaptargat*, E.; *Saptargac*, A., B., C.

CHAPTER 6.

1. *Parum* [*sugere*], H., with B. [which reads *suggere*], D., E.; *parvum...*, P.; *paululum*, A., acc. to M. W.; A. really has *parvum surgere*. l. 23
2. [*Vtrem siue*] *bucellam*, H.; *butellum*, P.; *bucellum*, A.; *buccellum*, B.; *putellum*, E. l. 25
3. *Ratio*, H.; *regula*, P. [B. omits *enim est*]. l. 36
4. *Lac nisi cuius fetet venter*, H.; *in cujus fetus ventre lac*, P.; *in cujus feti...*, D., E.; A., B. transpose these words, reading *lac in cujus fetus ventre* [B.], *lac in cujus fetet ventre* [A.]. l. 37
5. After *coagulum*, P., A., D. add *coagulatur*; not in M. W. l. 38
6. Before *serum* P. adds *lac*; H. and A., B. omit. p. **152** l. 2
7. 30. *casalia*, H., with A., B.; *xxx homines*, P. l. 5
8. *Unumquodq;*, H.; *quilibet*, P., with A., B., D. as in the next four examples. l. 6
9. *Quam...afferunt*, H.; *quod...afferant*, P. l. 9
10. Before *lac* the words *ita et isti*, given by H., are omitted by P., which reads *ita oportet* before *quod ipsi afferant*. l. 10
11. *Vtribus* [*arietinis*], H.; *ventribus...*, P. l. 12
12. *Putrescit*, H.; *putrefit*, P. l. 14

[p. **76**]

13. *Gri-vt*, H., with A., B., C.; *grice*, P.; P., later, *grut*. l. 20

CHAPTER 7.

1. Before *Mures*, P. adds *capiunt etiam mures, quorum multa genera habundant ibi*; H. omits, with A., B., C. l. 29
2. Before *et omne genus*, P. adds *sed dant avibus suis...Glires comedunt*; H. omits with A., C. l. 30
3. [*Marmotes...*] *ipsi*, H., with B.; *...ibi*, P. l. 31
4. *Cati*, H.; *cata*, P.; *taca*, D., E. M. W. do not notice H.'s reading. l. 35
5. *Artak*, H.; *arcali*, P. l. 39
6. *Torta*, H., with B.; *tortua ut aries*, P.; H.'s reading *torta* not noticed by M. W. l. 40

p. **153** l. 1 **7.** *Girfalcones...herodios*, H.; *girfaus, erodios*, P.; *girfaus, herodios*, B.
l. 4 **8.** *Medietatem*, H., A., B.; *medium*, P.
l. 6 **9.** *Verberetur* [*a vento*], H.; *reverbetur...*, P.; *reverberetur*, B., E. M. W. give H.'s reading as *verbetur*.
l. 11 **10.** *Bambasio*, H., with B.; *wambasio*, P. [and later].
11. *Moxel...Kersis*, H., with A., B.; *Maxel...Kerkis*, P.; *Pascatir*, H.; *Pascatu*, P., with A.; *Paschatu*, E.
l. 18 **12.** *Contra* [*ventum*], H., with A.; *ad...*, P.
l. 28 **13.** *De grossiori...filtrum*, H.; *de illa gross...i philtrum*, P.; M. W. make H. omit *de grossiori*; A. reads here *philtrum*; B., D. *filtrum*.
l. 31 **14.** *Pauellas sub sellis*, H. [with A., B.]; *panellos subsellos*, P.; *panellas*, A., B.; *sub sellas*, D.

CHAPTER 8.

l. 35 **1.** *Cristae...tempora*, H. [with A., B.]; *per succuras costae...timpora*, P.; later, P. reads *tympora*, which A. reads here; *timpora*, B.
p. **154** l. 7 **2.** *Postea*, H., with A., B.; *Praeterea*, P.
l. 8 **3.** *Botta*, H., with B.; *Bocca*, P.

[p. **77**]

l. 15 **4.** *Scilicet* [*vnius cubiti*], H.; *similiter...*, P.; *simili*, D.
5. Before *virgulam ornant*, P. omits *sibi*, given by H. and A.
l. 16 **6.** *Longum* [*in circuitu*], H., with B., D.; *lungum...*, P.; not in M. W.
l. 25 **7.** Before *desuper lancea* P. adds *et virgula*; H. and A. omit.
l. 26 **8.** [*Sicut*] *viti* [*diuersificantes*], H.; *...viri...*, P., with A.; not in M. W.
l. 31 **9.** *Pinguedine* [*facies*], H., with A., B., C.; *se...pinguendo...*, P.

CHAPTER 9.

p. **155** l. 8 **1.** After *viri faciunt*, P., with A., omits *solum*, given by H.
l. 10 **2.** *Et*, H. [after *ipsum cosmos*]; *id est*, P.
l. 13 **3.** Before *inspissato*, P., with A., adds *acetoso*; *acetos*, E.
l. 28 **4.** *Quia* [*aduenium*] *eae*, H.; *que...ei*, P.; *quia...ei*, A., D.
l. 30 **5.** Before *iniuriam* P. adds *fieri*; H. and A., B., omit.

CHAPTER 10.

[p. **78**]

p. **156** l. 13 **1.** [*Falsos nuncios*] *quia*, H.; *...qui scilicet*, P.
l. 14 **2.** *Sacrilegas*, H.; *sortilegas*, P.; *sortilegos*, B.
l. 18 **3.** [*Mangu*]*cham*, H.; *...chan*, P.; *...tham*, A., C.; B. omits.
l. 20 **4.** *Vnam. Si est de nobilibus*, H.; *unam si...*, P. [No stop.] Not in M. W.
l. 32 **5.** *Apposuerunt* [*...cosmos*], H., with B., D., E.; *opposuerunt...*, P.
l. 35 **6.** *Structas* [*lapidibus*], H., with A.; *stratas...*, P.
l. 36 **7.** *Circa* [*aream*], H., with A., B., C.; *citra ...*, P.
l. 37 **8.** *Et vbi* [*aliquis*], H.; *Quando...*, P.; D. omits.

CHAPTER 11.

p. **157** l. 6 **1.** [*Bigis*] *nigris*, H., with A., B.; *...nostris*, P.
l. 21 **2.** *Quas* [*deferrem*] *Sartach*, H., with A., B., C.; *que...Sarcath*, P.; *que... Sartach* B.

3. *Sin minus*, H.; *sin autem*, P., with A.; *si autem*, D. p. **157** l. 25
4. [*Nomine*] *Scacatai*, H.; *...Scatanay*, P.; *...Scatai*, B., C.; *Scatatai*, A., D.; elsewhere P. has *Scatatay*, etc. l. 26
5. *Chirothecas*, H.; *cyrotecas*, P.; *cirotecas*, B., A.; *cirothecas*, E., D.; H.'s reading is not given by M. W. l. 33
6. *Batrator*, H., with A., B., C.; *baratator*, P. l. 36
7. *Apram*, H., with A., B.; *Airam*, P.; *Agram*, B., C. p. **158** l. 2

[p. **79**]

8. *Dio*, H.; *divo*, P., with A. l. 6

CHAPTER 13.

1. *Acias*, H., with A., C.; *Aas*, P.; *Ats*, E.; *Aaas*, B. p. **159** l. 32

[p. **80**]

2. *Etiam si cognouissent...rectificabar*, H., with [A.,] B.; *...cognoscerent* [so A.]*...rectificabam*, P. p. **160** l. 8

CHAPTER 14.

1. *Intrassemus: videbantur*, H.; *cum in...s vid...* [no stop] P. p. **161** l. 8
2. [*Quindecim diebus*] *quibus non*, H., with B., D.; *quod nos*, P. l. 11
3. *Fructibus et panem biscoctum*, H.; *biscocto* [only] P., with D., E.; *vinum veringal plenum et panem biscoctum*, A., C.; *plenum biscoctum*, B. l. 13
4. *Boues*, H., with A., C.; *personis*, P.
5. *Bobus*, H., with A., B., C.; P. inserts *equis et*. l. 15
6. *Viginti* [*dietas*], H., with A., B., C.; *xxx...*, P. l. 20
7. *Comani ..Capchat*, H., with B., C., and later with A., B., also; *Commani...Capthat*, P.; *Capthac*, E. l. 22
8. [*Hungaria...*] *Tanaim*, H.; *...ad Thanain*, P.; *Tanayn*, A., B., C.; *Tanain*, E. l. 31
9. *Praeponunt* [*...Rutenis*], H.; *proponunt...*, P., with A.; here begins Ch. 15 in A., C. l. 33

CHAPTER 15.

[p. **81**]

1. *Xenio*, H.; *exennio*, P.; *extremo*, E. So later *xenium*, H.; *exennium*, P. p. **162** l. 10
2. [*Comedentes*] *viaticum*, H.; *...panem*, P.; *nostrum*, A. l. 12
3. [*Exceptis*] *seruientibus*, H.; *...survenientibus*, P., with B.; *...supervenientibus*, A., D., E.
4. *Grauabat*, H., with B., D., E.; *grevabat*, P. l. 22
5. *Quod cum volebam*, H., with E.; *quod non valebam*, P.; *quando nolebam*, D.; *quando volebam*, B.
6. *Aedificationis*, H., with B., C., E.; *predicationis*, P. l. 23
7. *Perpendi*, H., with B., C.; *percepi*, P. l. 25
8. *Nilus* [*fluuius*], in H. only; P., with A., omits *Nilus*. l. 31
9. *Biga*, H.; *ripa*, P.; *riga*, all MSS. but E. M. W. give H.'s reading as *riga*. l. 39
10. *Borbatam* [*recentem*], H., with A., B., C.; *borbotam*, P. p. **163** l. 3

p. **163** l. 7 **11.** *Sequana Parisijs*, H. [*Parisius*, A.]; *Secane Parisius*, P.; *Sokena*, A., C.; *Sokana*, B.; *Sequane*, E.; later P. reads *Secana*; A., B., C., *Sekena*.
l. 12 **12.** After *oritur de paludibus* P. adds *Meotidis*; not in H.
l. 13 **13.** *In* [*quoddam...Mare*], H.; *faciens...*, P.; A. omits *in*.

CHAPTER 16.

p. **164** l. 3 **1.** *Syluas ad aquilonem. Sunt*, H.; *silvas. Ad aquilonem sunt*, P.

[p. **82**]

l. 15 **2.** *Merduos*, H.; *Merdinis*, P.; *Merduius*, A., B., C.
l. 26 **3.** *Cergis et Alani siue Acas*, H.; *Cherkis...sive Aas*, P.; *Kerkis*, A., B., C.
l. 29 **4.** [*Lesgi* ..] *obediunt*, H., with A.; *...non obediunt*, P.
l. 32 **5.** After *habitabant Comani*, P. inserts *Capchac*, which H. omits; *Capchat*, B.

CHAPTER 17.

l. 35 **1.** *Etiliam*, H., with B.; *Ethiliam*, P.; *Eciliam*, A.
p. **165** l. 5 **2.** *Domini Iannam*, H.; *dominum Iannam*, A.; *Domum Iamiam*, B.; *dominum qui vocatur Iamiam*, P.; *Domum quis vocatur Iam Iam*, C., D., E.
l. 16 **3.** *Afferebamus*, H., with B., D.; *offerebamus*, P. Not in M. W.
l. 18 **4.** *Sic* [*seruarem*] H.; *si...*, P.; *sic servantem*, A., C.
l. 24 **5.** *Rex Franciae*, H.; *Franciae* omitted by P., with A.
l. 25 **6.** *Baldewyno de Hannonia*, H.; *Baldeuino de Hemmonia*, P.; *B...wyno de Hammona*, A., B., C.
l. 26 **7.** [*Socijs*] *domus Dominicae*, H.; *...David*, P. [and later], with all MSS.
l. 39 **8.** [*Dominus*] *noster*, H., with B.; *...vester*, P.
p. **166** l. 5 **9.** *Biblium quod...psalterium*, H.; *bibliam quam et psalterium*, P. [and later]. H.'s omission of *et* and placing of *psalterium* in apposition to *biblium*, not noticed by M. W. *Bibliam quam psalterium*, A., B.
l. 6 **10.** Before *pulchrae* P. inserts *valde*, not in H. (or A.).
l. 7 **11.** *Supercilicio*, H.; *superpelliceo*, P.; *superceliceo*, A., B., C.
l. 8 **12.** [*Ante*] *dominum*, H., with A., B.; *...domum*, P.

[p. **83**]

l. 10 **13.** *Ter*, H., with A.; *cum*, P.
l. 11 **14.** *Requisiuerunt*, H.; *acquisierunt*, P.; *requisierunt*, B., D.
l. 23 **15.** *Armeni*, H.; *Hermeni*, P.
l. 29 **16.** *Turcicum*, H.; *Turkum*, P.

CHAPTER 18.

p. **167** l. 16 **1.** [*Frater...*] *Coiacis*, H.; *...Coiac*, P. [*super*, B.].
l. 42 **2.** Before *sed Moal*, P. adds *non est Christianus*, and between *quia* and *nomen* inserts *enim*; not in H. or D.

CHAPTER 19.

[p. **84**]

p. **168** l. 8 **1.** *Concan*, H.; *Concham*, P., with A; *Coirchan*, E.
l. 10 **2.** *Qui* [*diuinator*], H., with A., D.; *quod...*, P.

3. *Propter succursum*, H.; *pro succursu*, P.; not in M. W.; A. reads *succursum* only. p. **168** l. 13

4. *Cara-Catay*, H., with B., E.; *Caratatay*, P. [later *Caracatay*]; *Caracatos*, *Carsitatay*, *Carstatay*, *Caracatas*, other forms in A., C. [M. and W. give H.'s reading as *Cara-Catai*.] l. 14

5. *Nigri* [*Catay*], H.; *niger...*, P.; *nigrum...*, A., C. l. 16

6. *Dicebatur Yayman*, H., with A., C.; *dicebantur Haiman*, P.; *dicebatur Nayman*, B.; *dicebantur Naiman*, D. l. 21

7. *Mangu*, H., P.; *Magu*, A., B., C.; *Mandu*, E., D. l. 26

8. *Ken can*, H.; *Ken cham*, P., with A., C.; *Keu*, D; *Koncham*, B. [*Can*, H., usually; *Cham* or *Chan*, P.]. l. 27

9. *Potens, pastor...*, *Vut*, H.; *potens pastor...*, *Unc*, P., A. [H. reads *Vnc* or *Unc* in other places]; *Nunc*, E. l. 33

10. *Alpes...Caracatay*, H., with B.; *Alpes...Caratay*, P. l. 34

11. *Tartari*, H.; *Jarcar*, P.; *Tarcar*, D.; *Tarcai*, E.; *Tartari*, A., B., C. [M. and W. give H.'s reading as *Jartari*.] p. **169** l. 4

12. [*Curia*] *Cyngiscan...Mancherule*, H.; *...Chingis Chan...Onankerule*, P.; *Chingis Cham...Maucherule*, A., B., C. l. 23

13. *Tartari* [*est regio*], H., with A., C.; *Caracaron...*, P.; *Caracari*, B. l. 24

14. *Acquisitio*, H., with B., D.; *prima adquisitio*, P.; not in M. W.

CHAPTER 20.

[p. **85**]

1. *Berta*, H., with A., C.; *Jerra*, P.; *Berca*, B.; *Fra*, E. [*Terra fratris*, D.]. l. 38

2. *Super*, H., with A., E.; *frater*, P.

3. [*Permittit in*] *terra*, H.; *...curia*, P., with A. [B. omits *non*]. p. **170** l. 2

4. *Interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et*, H.; *int...nt. De...latitant, et*, P. l. 12

5. *Occursum*, H., with B., D., E.; *occasum*, P. l. 15

6. *Talium*, H., with B., D., E.; *talem*, P. l. 16

7. *Tandem*, H.; *ergo*, P.; A. omits. l. 18

8. Before *quemdam lacum* [*g...nd...m*, H.], P. adds *in meridiem, cadens in*; H. omits, with A. l. 20

9. *Sircan*, H., with A., B., C.; *Sirsan*, P.; *Sirtan*, B.; *Siroan*, D. l. 21

10. *Iuxta*, H.; *super*, P.; A. omits. l. 22

11. *Musihet*, H., with A., C.; *Muliech*, P.; *Mulihec*, B. l. 24

12. *Assassinorum*, H.; *Axasinorum*, P.; *Haxasinorum*, A., B., C.

13. Before *qui...Canglae*, P. adds *Comani*; H. omits, with A., B., C. l. 27

CHAPTER 21.

[p. **86**]

1. *Mergitur*, H.; *oritur*, P. p. **171** l. 4

2. *Feritatis...leones*, H. with A., B., C.; *ferocitatis...et leones*, P. l. 6

3. Before *mixtim*, P. adds *et Sarracenis*; H. omits, with A. M. W. do not notice H.'s omission here. l. 11

4. *Quum ergo vidi...propè domus*, H., with A.; *quando...propriae...*, P.; *quando...prope*, D. l. 25

5. Before *ducti* P. adds *primo*; H. omits, with A., B., C. l. 36

6. After *sequenti die* P. adds *ducti*; H. omits, with A., B., C. [A. omits *die*.] l. 37

p. **171** l. 40 **7.** *Vt non* [*loqueremur*]...*et* [*tunc*], H., with A., C.; *quod nihil...et quod...*, P.; *ut nichil*, B.

p. **172** l. 5 **8.** *Ad* [*papilionem*], H., with A., B., C.; *ante...*, P.

l. 10 **9.** [*In oculis*] *eorum*, H., with A., B.; *...nostris*, P.

10. *Plano carpini*, H.; *Policarpo*, P., and all MSS.

l. 11 **11.** *Inducti fuimus*, H., B.; *introducti sumus*, P.; *induti fuimus*, A.

l. 38 **12.** *Confortare ne timerem*, H.; *confortari ne timeret*, P.; *confortare... timeret*, B., D. M. W. do not notice H.'s reading *timerem*.

[p. **87**]

p. **173** l. 1 **13.** *Vt*, H.; *contra quos*, P.; *quem*, E.

l. 24 **14.** [*Dixit nobis*] *summam*, H., with A., D.; *...sententiam*, P.

l. 26 **15.** *Eo* [*amplius*], H., with A.; *ego...*, P.

CHAPTER 22.

p. **174** l. 4 **1.** [*Hungari*]...*Clericuli*, H., with A., B.; *...clerici*, P.

l. 14 **2.** [*Scripsi*] *vtrasque*, H. with A., B.; *...utrinque*, P.; *utrique*, E.

l. 23 **3.** *Finem* [*exaltationis...crucis*], H.; *festum*, P.; not in M. W.

[p. **88**]

l. 38 **4.** [*Botas siue*] *bucellos*, H., with A., B., C.;...*hocellos*, P.;...*hosellos*, D.

l. 41 **5.** *Signarios*, H., with A., D.; *duos saginarios*, P.

l. 43 **6.** *Romanorum*, H., with A., B., C.; *Comanorum*, P.

CHAPTER 23.

p. **175** l. 6 **1.** *Iagag*, H.; *Jagat*, P.; *Jagac*, A., B., C.

l. 7 **2.** *Pascatir*, H., with A., B., C.; *Pascatur*, P., as before.

l. 8 **3.** *Hungarorum*, H. [not in M. W.]; *Ungariorum*, P.; *Hungari*, A., B., C.; *Ungarorum*, D.

l. 18 **4.** *Occurrerunt...Vandali*, H., with A., B., C.; *concurrunt...Wandali*, P.; *concurrerunt*, D.; H.'s reading *Vandali* not noticed in M. W.

l. 20 **5.** *Ilac*, H., with A., B., C.; *Illac*, P.

l. 22 **6.** *Illos lingua...Boemorum. Sclauorum est idem idioma*, H.; *illos. Lingua ...Boemorum et Sclavonorum eadem*, P. [A., B., D. omit *idioma*.] These differences are only in part noticed in M. W.

l. 23 **7.** *Sclauorum*, H.; *Sclavonorum*, P., with B., D.; *Sclavanorum*, A., C.

l. 26 **8.** [*Populum*] *multum*, H., with A., B.; *...nullum*, P.

l. 33 **9.** *Bulgaris* [*Saracenis*], H., with A., B., C., D.; *Vulgaris...*, P.

l. 35 **10.** *Valachia*, H.; *Blakia*, P., with A., B., D.; not in M. W.

p. **176** l. 5 **11.** *Leuius*, H., with A., B., C.; *tunc lentius*, P.; H.'s omission of *tunc* not in M. W.

l. 15 **12.** *Saginarios*, H.; *pro saginariis*, P.

CHAPTER 24.

[p. **89**]

p. **177** l. 10 **1.** [*Asinos...*] *Colan*, H., with C.; *...Culam*, P.; *...Colau*, A., B.

l. 16 **2.** *Kenchat*, H., with A., C.; *Kinchat*, P.; *Kenchac*, B.

l. 21 **3.** *Sed* omitted by P. before *quia iam eramus*. Earlier in same chapter H. reads *quia*; P., *quare* [*nolebamus recipere aurum*].

CHAPTER 25.

1. *Ban* [*dominus*], H., with A., C., D.; *Buri*..., P. Earlier in same chapter H. reads *Buri*. In same sentence H. reads *sed nihil poteram* [not *nichil* as in M. W.]; P., *nichil poteram*; E., *et nihil poteram*; A. omits *sed*. p. **177** l. 37

2. [*Sicut*] *Baatus*, H., with A.; ...*Baatu*, P. p. **178** l. 2

3. *Talas* [*erat post nos*], H., with B., D.; *Jalas*..., P.; *Talis*..., A., C. H.'s reading not in M. W. l. 12

4. Before *transiui eundo* P. inserts *tamen*; H. omits, with A., C. l. 17

5. *Homines Mangu cham...nec exequuntur*, H.; *homines Mangu...ne executur*, P. [*Cham* omitted: *Magu* in A., B.: this not in M. W.] l. 23

[p. **90**]

6. *Descendebant* [*a...montibus*], H.; *dependebant*, P. l. 33

7. Before *ad meridiem*, P. inserts *qui erant*; H. omits, with A., C. l. 34

8. [*Solebant esse multae*] *villae*, H., with B., D., E., which last (two) read *magnae*; ...*valle*, P. M. W. give H.'s reading as *ville*. l. 40

9. [*Omnes erant*] *destructae*, H. [not *destructe* as in M. W.], with B., E.; *distracte*, P.; *distructae*, A. l. 41

10. [*Quicuimus*] *quindecim*, H. with A., B., C.; ...*xii*, P. p. **179** l. 1

11. *Organum*, H., with A., C.; *Orgonum*, P.; *Argonum*, E. [later *Organa* in H., P.; *Orgona*, B.]. l. 3

12. *Haec...Contomannis*, H.; *modo...Turcomannis*, P.; *Contomaniis*, A., B.; *Contromaniis*, C.; *Tintomannis*, E. l. 5

13. *Idiomate*, H.; *ydioma*, P.; *ideoma*, D.; *ideo mare*, E. l. 6

14. After *partibus illis*, and before *dicuntur Organa*, P. adds *officium suum et scribere libros et forte ab illis*; H. omits, with A., C.

15. *Idolatrias*, H., with E.; *ydolatras*, P., with A., D.; *ydiolatras*, B. l. 8

CHAPTER 26.

1. *Cealac*, H.; *Caalat*, P.; *Caalac*, C.; *Ceialac*, A. l. 15

2. *Habetis...imaginem*, H.; *habetis hic...ymaginem*, P.; *habetis...ymaginem*, A. [M. W. a little later give *quamdam yminaginationem* as H.'s reading for P.'s *quamdam ymaginem*; here H. really has *imaginationem*]. l. 20

3. *Ipsorum*, H., with A.; *episcoporum*, P. l. 26

4. [*Saraceni*...] *inuitant*, H., with MSS. other than B., D.; ...*vitant*, P., with B., D. l. 27

5. [*Loqui*] *inde*, H., with A.; ...*de*, P. l. 28

6. After *ornant se sacerdotes* P. adds *et offerunt thura et ascendunt* [sic, with MSS.] *lucernas*; H. omits, with A., B., C. l. 35

7. *Communes omnes*, H., with A.; *omnes omnium*, P.; *communes omnium*, A., B. l. 36

8. *Eorum* [*exeuntem*], H., with A., C.; *corum*..., P. p. **180** l. 3

9. [*Vel*] *aliter*, H., with A., B., C.; ...*aliquando*, P.

10. [*In loco*] *chori*, H., with B.; ...*cori*, P., and so later. l. 5

CHAPTER 27.

[p. **91**]

1. After *chorus contra chorum* [*corus...corum*] P. adds *in terra*. l. 23

2. *Oratorium quoddam eorum*, H.; *Carrachorum quoddam templum eorum*, P.; *Coratorium*, A., B.; *Coracorium*, C. l. 26

p. **180** l. 29 **3.** After *quocumque vadunt* P. adds *semper in manibus*, with A.

4. *Quendam restem*, H.; *quamdam testam*, P.; *restam*, A., B., C.

l. 31 **5.** *Ou mam Hactaui*, H.; *On man baccam*, P.; *Ou mani hactain*, A., B., C.; *Ou mani bachan*, E.

l. 33 **6.** *Expectant*, H.; *exspectat*, P., with E.

l. 37 **7.** [*Emineat*] *si possint*, H., with A.; *...si possunt*, P.

p. **181** l. 2 **8.** Before *Franci* P. omits *fratres* [not in M. W.]; and before *quos vidi*, P. omits *illi*. A. omits both with P.

l. 3 **9.** [*Capitibus*] *cartaceas*, H.; *Tartareas*, P.

10. *Iugurum*, H.; *Ingurum*, P., with A. [later, at beg. of ch. 27, *Ingures*]; *Ingruum*, B. [*Virginis*, later, D, E.]. Later M. W. wrongly give *Ingures* [for *Iugures*] as H.'s reading.

l. 12 **11.** *Mangu-cham...vobis* H.; *Manguchan...eis*, P.; *Magu cham...nobis*, A., B.; *...ei*, E.

l. 22 **12.** *Vnus spiritus*, H., and all MSS. but E., D.; *unus et spiritus*, P. with E., D.

l. 27 **13.** [*Aliquis*] *charus eius*, H.; *...carus ei*, P.

p. **182** l. 4 **14.** [*Metandi*] *castra*, H., with B., E.; *...castrum*, P.

l. 7 **15.** *Ipsi* before *Moal et ingrediuntur* added by P.; H. omits, with A.

CHAPTER 28.

[p. **92**]

l. 16 **1.** *Post obediuerunt* [*Chingis*], H., with A., B.; *primo obedierunt...*, P.

l. 27 **2.** *Ferociores*, H.; *fortiores*, P., with A.

l. 29 **3.** *Acuosa*, H., with A., B.; *arcuosa*, P.; *artuosa*, E.

l. 30 **4.** *Iniungi*, H., with A.; *mungi*, P.; *inungi*, E.

l. 33 **5.** *Tebet*, H., with A., B., C.; *Tebec*, P.

p. **183** l. 5 **6.** *Langa* [*et Solanga*], H., with A., C.; *Longa...*, P., with B., D.; *Selanga*, A.; *Solonga*, B.

l. 11 **7.** [*Parum*] *interior*, H.; *...inferior*, P.

l. 19 **8.** After *capitis*, P. adds, *et est valde pulchrum ornamentum capitis*; H. omits, with A., B., C.

9. Before *quando veniebat ad curiam* P., with A., adds *semper*; H. omits.

l. 36 **10.** *Cathaya, cuius incolae*, H.; *Cataya qui*, P. with A., C.; *Cathaia qui*, B.; *Cataia qui*, E., D.

l. 38 **11.** Before *et ille populus*, P. adds with A. *qui dicuntur Serici ab illo populo*; H. omits.

H. ends, with A., C., at the end of p. 291 of Paris (*Recueil*) text, which latter begins at p. 213 of vol. IV. (1839), and continues to p. 396, giving the complete Rubruquis. In the margin of C. is a note, at the end of the MS.; *Hic deficit multum; vide apud S. Edmundum residuum*; M. W. add, *liber hic fuit olim, ut videtur, peculium prioratus cujusdam apud Norwicum.*

§ 10. NOTES ON HAKLUYT'S VERSION OF RUBRUQUIS. pp. 93—117.

[p. **93**]

CHAPTER 1.

p. **184** l. 6 **1.** *William de Rubruk...of the Minorites*: Friar William was probably a native of Rubrouck village in Old French Flanders. His birth is commonly dated about 1215—1220, his death about 1270. He is only known from the present work, from Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius* (I. 305, 354, etc., ed. Bridges,

1897; Carpini is referred to in the same work I. 371), and from the Franciscan records used by Luke Wadding in *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*. Rubruquis probably met Carpini and Benedict the Pole in Paris, at the Court of the Saint-King Louis IX., when Friar John and his companion arrived there in the early part of 1248, shortly after their return from Mongolia, on a mission from the Pope to the French Sovereign (Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, III. 125). From these veteran explorers Rubruquis in all likelihood received the first impulse towards his own great journey. He accompanied Louis IX. on the Sixth Crusade, and was probably with the King when the mission arrived from Ilchikadai at the end of 1248, offering an alliance against the Saracens, and when the pleasing and plausible impostor, Sabeddin Morrifat David, in charge of this mission, told the King of France how the Great Khan and the chief lords of the Mongols had embraced Christianity three years before. When Andrew of Longumeau (Jean Pierre Sarrasin's 'Andrieu de St Jacques') started, in Feb. 1249, on the return embassy sent by Louis IX. both to Ilchikadai and to the Great Khan Kuyuk, Rubruquis was also present, there is no reason to doubt, as also when Andrew returned to St Louis at Caesarea in 1251. Lastly Rubruquis seems to have met Philip de Toucy [and Baldwin of Hainault?] at Caesarea in the winter of 1251—52, and to have heard much about the manners of the Kumans and the routes through their country. The traveller left his sovereign some time in the winter of 1252—3, made a stay (possibly of some length) in Constantinople, and started from the imperial city for the Crimea on May 7, 1253. See Joinville and Sarrasin, ed. Michel, Paris, 1867, pp. 142—9, 150—2, 254—5. p. **184**

For modern studies cf. Oscar Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 165, etc.; Léon Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 353—4, 355, 384—6, 392; Sir Henry Yule's article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th edition), XXI. 46—7; the same author's *Marco Polo*, II. 536; F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, Berlin 1885 (Berlin Geog. Soc. vol. 20, pp. 161—253, and reprint); W. W. Rockhill, trans. of Rub. with commentary, Hakluyt Society, 1900; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. pp. 278—9, 320—381.

An excellent analysis of Rub.'s journey is in d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (ed. of 1852), vol. II. chap. vi. pp. 283—309, and invaluable refs. to, and notes upon, the same are in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1888, I. 204—5, 262—3, 299, 301, 305—7, 308, 311, 318, 327, 334; II. 25, 38, 41—2, 70—1, 83, 84, 85, 86, 91, 116, 120.

2. *Yeare...1253...Nones of May...Pontus*: i.e. Rub. sailed into the Black Sea on May 7, 1253. Pontus and Pontus Euxinus are the regular names of this basin in classical and mediaeval geography; it is called *Dark*, ἡ λεγομένη σκοτεινή (if the ref. here is really to the Euxine and not to the Baltic; either would suit the context), by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, chaps. 31, 42; *Black* by Friar Jordanus (*nigrum, maurum*), chap. XIV. § 3, p. 61, *Recueil* text, vol. IV., 1839. Paris. l. 23

3. *Great sea*: in Hak.'s original *Maius Mare*. For Hak.'s *in length... 1008 miles* the best MSS. read *MCCCC*; and so the text implies in Hak. a little later, *700 miles also from thence to the East*, etc. The true length is about 700 E. miles in all. *Mare maius* is an unusual term for the Euxine; more usually it is applied to the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, as in Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIII. xvi. 1. As used for the Euxine, cf. *Marco Polo*, chap. I. (p. 5, Pauthier; I. 2—3, Yule). l. 25

4. Before *towards Synopolis* Hak.'s original has *et contra meridiem*, l. 33

p. **184** untranslated here. On *Synopolis*, our *Sinope*, called by Rub. a little later *the citie of the Soldan of Turkie*, an important trade-centre (as outlet for Turkish Asia Minor) at this time, cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 298, 550—3, II. 98 168, 203—4.

l. 38 **5.** *Hiberia...Georgia.* See note 5, chap. 6 of Carpini.

l. 39 **6.** *Gasaria...[Caesaria]*: the name *Caesaria* (l. 32) has nothing to do with Caesar, but is derived from the Khazars who dominated the modern Southern Russia from the 6th to the 11th cent. and are mentioned so often by the Byzantines, e.g. in 626 by Priscus, if we may identify his Ἀκατίροι and Ἀκατζίροι with the Khazars, and by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Adm. Imp.*, chaps. 10—12 etc. Cf. the *Gazari* and *Gazaria* of Carpini 674 etc., 748, the *Gatzaria* of Friar Jordanus, 62 (*Recueil*, IV. 1839). See also Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 222—3, 472, 474, 491—4. Frähn, *De Chazaris*, is still one of the most important monographs on this interesting people (1822, St Petersburg).

p. **185** l. 1 **7.** *Kersoua*: so in Hak.'s original, for *Kersona*, *Kherson* or *Cherson*, the traditional scene of the martyrdom of St Clement of Rome (*civitas Clementis* Rub. calls it later, p. 215 of *Recueil* text), on the west side of the quarantine harbour of Sevastopol. See Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Adm. Imp.* chs. 6, 42, and esp. 53, the most valuable mediaeval essay on Chersonite history; Böckh, *Inscript. Christ.* 8740, 8742, 8757. See also Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, I. 101; II. 455, 499—504.

l. 5 **8.** *Soldaia*, i.e. *Sudak* or *Sudagh*, the Σουγδαία of the Byzantines, also written by Latins *Sodaia*, *Soltadia*, *Soldachia*, *Sholtadia*: noticed by M. Polo, chaps. 1, 2 (p. 6, Pauthier; I. 2—4, Yule) and by Edrisi (Jaubert), II. 394, who calls it *Soldudia*. It was first captured by the Mongols in 1223 and again in 1239. Cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 450—1, and Rockhill's note in Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 43, n. 2; also Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, II. 84, who warns us not to confuse Soldaia or Sudak with Solgat or Krim; see Abulfeda, II. 320; Pallas, *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire*, 1793—4, II. 260—3, 217—27, 396—9, gives one of the best modern descriptions of Sudak and [Solgat-] Krim. In the century after Rubruquis, Sudak greatly declined; cf. Ibn Batuta (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), I. 28; II. 415. On Venetian trade and establishments here, *c.* A.D. 1250—80, see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 299—301, and Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, as above.

l. 6 **9.** *Turkie merchants*: in Hak.'s original *mercatores venientes de Turchia*, i.e. Inner Asia Minor, the dominion of the Seljuk Turks (Sultanate of Rûm or Iconium) from the close of the 11th century.

l. 8 **10.** *Russia...ermines and gray furres* [in Hak.'s original *varium et grisiam*] *...bombast* [in original *bombasio*] *...silke...spices*: *Rossia*, which Hak. translates *Russia*, may refer to the port of that name (al. *Rosia*, *Rousia*), probably near the mouth of the Don; cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 205, 207—9; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 452. But it is more probably the whole country of the Russians (then confined to the central and S.W. regions of the modern Russia) that is here referred to. The furs mentioned appear to be the kinds known as *vaire* and *minever*, supposed to be squirrel and ermine. Purchas translates 'little spotted and grisel'd skins,' which does not take us very far. Rubruquis later, p. 329 of *Recueil* text, tells us *moneta Rutenorum communis sunt pellicule...varii et grisii*. On this see Karamzin, *Russian History*, I. 307—9. 'Bombast,' i.e. *Bombacium*, is the early mediaeval name for cotton;

Cotone is also used by Rub., *Recueil*, p. 219; cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II. 614. p. **185**

11. *Matriga...Tanais...Pontus...a little sea* [in Hak.'s original *quoddam mare versus Aquilonem*] *...Materta*: on *Matriga* or *Materta*, the Ταμάταρχα or Τὰ Μάταρχα of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the *Tmutorkhan* of the Russians, otherwise *Matracha*, *Matrega*, *Matrica*, etc., cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 206, II. 180, 379; Const. Porph., *De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 42; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 421, 451—2. Its nearest modern equivalent is *Taman* or *Phanagoria* in the Taman peninsula. l. 13

Rubruquis (cf. also pp. 216, 252, in *Recueil* text) considers, like many ancient and mediaeval writers—e.g. Edrisi, that the Straits of Kertch or Bosporos formed the true mouth of the Don or Tanais.

12. *Thosses*, *Barbils*: in Hak.'s original *thosas*, *borbatas*; better, *hosas*, *barbotas*: cf. Rub. later (p. 249 in *Recueil* text; see note 17, chap. 15) on the *barbota* ('turbut' in Hak.) which he ate at the Tanais ferry. l. 21

13. After *Soldaia*, Hak.'s original has *quae est cuspis provinziae*, untranslated here. l. 25

14. *Maricandis...Matriga vpon the mouth of the riuer Tanais*: in Hak.'s original *Maricandis...Materta et orificium Tanais*, simply. Maricandis is probably a mistake for Maritanais (*Mare Tanais*), the reading of D, the oldest and best MS. (CCC. Cam., 181). l. 26

15. *Zikia...Sueui...Hiberi...Trapesunda...Guydo*: on *Zikia* (also read, in MS. D, *Ziquia*, but not, as Rockhill, *Zikuia*) cf. the Ζυγοί, Ζυγιοί, and Σιγιννοί of Strabo, II. 31; XI. 11—12, etc., the χώρα τῆς Ζιχίας of Const. Porph., *De Administrando Imperio*, chap. 42, the *terra Ziccorum* of Carpini, 748 (*Recueil* text). It was the steppe region South of the Kuban and North of the Western Caucasus. On the *Suevi* cf. the *Suani* of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI. 4, the Σοάναι of Strabo, XI. 14: they belonged to the Kartvelian race, and were highlanders of the Western Caucasus as they are now. The Hiberi, Iberians, or Georgians were not independent of the Tartars, as Rub. declares; since 1239 they had been Mongol subjects. *Guydo*, *governor of Trapesunda*, i.e. *Andronikos I.* (*Gidos*), Emperor of Trebizond, had died 1235; Manuel Komnenos reigned 1238—1263, and in 1252 sent an embassy to Louis IX. at Sidon. It is the more strange that even by this means Rubruquis had not learnt that *Guydo* no longer lived. Since 1244 Trebizond had been subject to the Mongols. l. 28

16. *Vastacius...Astar*: i.e. Ioannes III. Doukas Batatzes Diplobastazos ('John Vataces'), Emperor of Nikaia (Nicaea) 1222—1254, and his son Theodoros II. Doukas Laskaris (the *Astar* of Hak., the *Ascar* of the best MSS.). Rub. says 'Vastacius' was not in subjection to the Tartars, but it is certain that he paid them tribute at this time. 'Astar's' mother was Eirene Laskaris, daughter of Theodoros I. Laskaris, 1204—1224, the first 'Nicene' emperor after the Latin capture of Constantinople. l. 36

17. *Valakia* [*Blakia* in the best MSS.] *...Assanus...Bulgaria minor... Solonia* [in Hak.'s original *Solonomam*; *Sclavoniam* in the Paris text]. The Vlachs or Wallachians, described by Benjamin of Tudela, in Thessaly, were also numerous in the modern 'Wallachia' and in Bulgaria S. of Danube. The *land of Asan* is the Bulgar-Wallachian kingdom, founded *c.* 1186 by Asan (otherwise Assan, Asen, or Iovan-Asen I.), with the help of his brothers Peter and John, as a revival of the old Bulgarian state destroyed by John Tzimiskes and Basil II. (Βουλγαροκτόνος). Asan reigned 1186—96: in Rubruquis' time the ruler was Michael or Mikhailo-Asen, 1246—1257, the dynastic name being kept up, as Rubruquis implies, *Blakia quae est terra Assani*. l. 40

p. 186 *Sclavonia* (if that reading be preferred) here prob. refers to the Slav lands in the N.E. Adriatic basin: but it is only read by one (the oldest and best) MS., viz. D. On Hak.'s reading of *corn* (*frumentum*) for *iron* (*ferrum*; as in all the best MSS.), see critical notes.

[p. 94]

l. 3 **18.** *Soldaia the twelfth ... Kalends ... Iune ... merchants of Constantinople*: i.e. Rubruquis and his party reached Sudak, May 21, 1253: he complains a little later of the bad advice these merchants gave him for his journey.

The Palm Sunday sermon in St Sophia to which Rubruquis refers in the next sentence was preached April 12, 1253, while Constantinople was still under Latin dominion (1204—1261); Baldwin II. of Courtenay, 1228—1261.

l. 10 **19.** *Infidels*: in Hak.'s original *incredulos*.

l. 17 **20.** *Sartach ... Christian*: cf. Rub., *Recueil* text, 217, 238—40, 242, 249, 251, 253—263, 264, 268, 270—1, 375—6. Sartach was a Christian, says King Hayton's narrative definitely. On Sartach and Rubruquis' visit, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 283—5, 291; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 167—8, 170; II. 15, and esp. note 459; Patkanov's *History of the Mongols from Armenian sources*, p. 73, and note 5, chap. 13 of Carpini in this vol. Acc. to Bar Hebraeus, Sartach (or rather *Sartakh*, the *Sa-li-ta* of the Chinese; also written *Sartath*, *Sarcath*, *Sarthac*, *Sartaht*, *Serttah*, *Salcath*, etc.; the MSS. of Rubruquis alone give ten different forms of this name) was baptized and ordained deacon (Klaproth, *Journal Asiatique*, XII. 211, 277). Innocent IV. addressed him as a Christian in 1254 on the faith of his self-styled envoy John the Presbyter. See Abel Rémusat, *Relations ... des Princes Chrétiens ... avec les Mongols* (1822—4), p. 61.

l. 24 **21.** *Good and commoditie*: in Hak.'s original *vtilitate* [*Christianitatis*].

l. 35 **22.** *Baite*: in Hak.'s original *Herbergia*: *carriages* or *cariages*, in Hak.'s original *res*.

l. 36 **23.** *On sundry horses backs*: in Hak.'s original *super alios* simply.

l. 43 **24.** *Gouernours of Soldaia*: in Hak.'s original *capitaneis primis*, referring to the Mongol lords, not to the Sudak magistrates, etc.

p. 187 l. 7 **25.** *Borrowed*: in Hak.'s original *accepimus*.

l. 11 **26.** *Bartholomew ... Goset ... Turgemannus ... Nicolas*: Bartholomew of Cremona, in p. 303 of the *Recueil* text of Rub., seems to be alluded to as resident at the court of 'Vastacius' of Nikaia before this journey (see note 16). He did not return with Rub., but stayed behind at Mangu's court. (See pp. 372, 374 of *Recueil* text of Rub.)

Goset (*Gosset* in the best MSS.) did not accompany Rub. and Bartholomew to Mangu's court. Batu sent him back (with the *puer Nicholaus*) to Sartach (p. 271, *Recueil*) or detained him at his own 'horde' (p. 377, *Recueil* text of Rub.).

'Homo Dei Turgemannus,' 'Turgemannus the man of God,' is mysterious; Rockhill suggests his name in Rub. is a translation of Abdullah 'slave of God' (Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 50). Anyhow he was the interpreter (*torgiman*, *tarjuman*, *turguman*, or *dragoman*) of the party, and a very poor one at that.

l. 13 **27.** *Almes bestowed vpon me*: in Hak.'s original *de nostra eleemosyna*: the *Recueil* text reads *de vestra eleem*^{a}.

l. 16 **28.** *Promontories ... Kersoua* [for *Kersona*] *... fortie castles ... Gothes ... Dutch tongue* [in Hak.'s original *idioma Teutonicum*]: see Rockhill's note p. 51 of

Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Josafat Barbaro, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hak. Soc. ed., 27—30 (1873); Benedict the Pole on the *Saxi*, supposed by him to be Goths, p. 776 in *Recueil* text; Busbequius (Busbeck), *Epistolae deque rebus Turcicis*, 383, Leipzig, 1689; Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II. 208; Yule, *Cathay*, 200; d'Avezac in the *Recueil*, 498—9 (IV. 1839). p. **187**

29. *There ...Isthmus*: in Hak.'s original *quae coarctatur.* l. 24

30. *Comanians...Tartars*: see note 4, chap. 21 of Carpini. The Mongol invasion of Koman- or Kuman-land (our S. Russia), which led to the great battle of the Kalka in 1222 (otherwise 1223 or 1224), also resulted in an incursion into the Crimea, here referred to, in 1222—3. l. 28

Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 339, 345; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 297; II. 68—73, 75, 84, and note 721, where the various dates of the Kalka battle (16th June, 1224, 31st May, 1224, and an unfixed day in 1223 or 1222) are discussed, and the preference is decidedly given to 1222.

31. *The multitude*: in Hak.'s original *tanta multitudo* [*Comanorum*]. l. 30

32. *Which were dead*: in Hak.'s original *morientes.* l. 33

33. *Salte...Baatu...Sartach...Russia...Yperpera.* See Strabo VII. 4, 258, and the U. S. A. Consular Reports, IV. 477, on ancient and modern salt-production in the Crimea, especially from the saline lakes and brine springs near Perekop. l. 40

Two webbes of cotton, in Hak.'s original *duas telas de cottone*, offered by the *Russian* traders for the *Crimean* salt: here the more modern word *cottone* is used instead of the older *Bombacium.*

The [*h*]*yperpera* seems to have been of between 10 sh. and 11 sh. value, say, normally, 10*s.* 6*d.* Carpini (p. 707 of *Recueil* text) uses the term as equivalent to *bezant* (*yperperorum sive bysanciorum*). So do Marco Polo and Joinville; cf. M. Polo, II. 535 (Yule).

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CHAPTER 2.

1. *Round foundation...compacted together*: in Hak.'s original *rotam... cancellatis.* For *celestiall citie to come*, at the beginning of the chap., Hak.'s original has only *futuram* [sc. *civitatem*], i.e. their next encampment on their native plains or elsewhere. There is no reference to an after-life. On the nomade habits, dwellings, etc., of the Tartars, Rubruquis has innumerable parallels, from Hesiod and Herodotus (IV. 46, III. 35) to Carpini (pp. 614—30, 638—643, *Recueil* text); M. Polo (I. 244, Yule); Ibn Batuta (II. 361, 377—9, 387, Defrémery and Sanguinetti); Barbaro (13, Hak. Soc.), and the most modern investigators (e.g. Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, I. 419). p. **188** l. 20

2. *Roofe*: in Hakluyt's original *tigna.* l. 21

3. *Roundell*: in Hak.'s original *rotam.* On the nomade tents and waggons cf. also Rockhill's note to Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 54, and classical refs. in Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII. 176; Hippocrates, *De aere, aqua et locis*, on the four- and six-wheeled carts of the Scythians. Carpini, pp. 616—17 of *Recueil* text, is an excellent parallel to Rubruquis here, throughout. l. 22

4. *Morter*: in Hak.'s original *calce.* l. 24

5. *Blacke felte*: in Hak.'s original *nigro* only. l. 26

6. *Curiously painted ouer*: in Hak.'s original *opere polimitario variatum.* Cf. Rockhill's note, p. 55 (end) of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.* l. 29

7. *Fore side*: in Hak.'s original *anteriori extremitate.* p. **189** l. 4

p. **189** l. 6 **8.** *Tallow*: in Hak.'s original *sevo*.
l. 7 **9.** *Feathers*: in Hak.'s original *plumario*.
l. 30 **10.** *Village*: in Hak.'s original *villa*.

CHAPTER 3.

l. 40 **1.** *Southward...North part...East side...Southwards...West side.* On the Southward aspect of the nomade tents, cf. Rockhill, note on p. 56 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*. See the parallel passage in Carpini, p. 745 of *Recueil* text, and the plan and description of a yurt in Radlov, *Aus Siberien*, I. 270 (see also I. 414 of same work), copied by Rockhill, in Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 58.

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p. **190** l. 25 **2.** *The like superstitious idolatrie*: not in Hak.'s original. On the felt idols, cf. the parallel passage in Carpini, pp. 618—20 of *Recueil* text; also Benedict the Pole, p. 775 of same; M. Polo, on the idol *Natigay*, I. 249—51, II. 478 (Yule); Barbaro, 34. On the oblations of drink towards the chief quarters of the Heavens, cf. Carpini, p. 622 of *Recueil* text; M. Paris, IV. 388 (Rolls Series).

CHAPTER 4.

p. **191** l. 3 **1.** *Excellent drinke...Rise...Cosmos*: Rub., p. 335 of *Recueil* text (not in Hak.), gives to the rice, millet, [and honey] drinks here mentioned—and incorrectly said to be *made* by the Mongols—the names of *cervisia de risio* (otherwise *terracina*), *cervisia de millio* [and *boal*?]. Carpini, p. 640 of *Recueil* text, truly says that the Mongols had no *vinum*, *cervisiam*, *vel medonem*, except imported. Cf. also Ibn Batuta, II. 408; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 94; on Cosmos or Kumiss and Kara-Kumiss, cf. Carpini, pp. 640—1 *Recueil*; M. Polo, I. 249—252 (Yule) and Rubruquis, pp. 227—8 *Recueil* text (=chap. 6 in Hak.); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 94; II. 73.
l. 8 **2.** *Fidle...fidle*: in Hak.'s original *Citherula...cicharum* (sic). On the Musical instruments of Turks and Tartars, cf. Rockhill, note 2, p. 62, Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.
l. 31 **3.** *Stamping*: in Hak.'s original *terunt*; cf. Rockhill, note 2, p. 63, of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Gomboyev, *Mélanges Asiatiques de l'Académie des Sciences de St Pétersbourg*, 1856, II. (pp. 650—666) *Randbemerkungen zu Plano Carpini*, p. 664.

CHAPTER 5.

l. 36 **1.** *Dead carrions*: in Hak.'s original *morticinia*. On the Mongol viands and habits of eating cf. Carpini, pp. 638—9 of *Recueil* text; Gomboyev, *op. cit.* 657, 659; Matthew Paris, *Historia Maior*, IV. 273, 386—9 (Rolls Series); Joinville, ed. Michel, 147—8; Schiltberger (Hak. Soc.), 48; Busbeck, *Epistolae*, 385; Rockhill, note 3, pp. 63—4 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

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p. **192** l. 5 **2.** *Puddings*: in Hak.'s original *andulges* (French *andouilles*). On the horse sausages of the Tartars cp. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streiferien unter den Kalmuken* (1805), II. 129.
l. 9 **3.** *Sandals and pantofles*: in Hak.'s original *soculares*.

4. *Buget*: in Hak.'s original *Bursa*, Rub.'s trans. of *Saptargat*. Cf. Carpini, p. 640 of *Recueil* text, on the consumption of every morsel at Mongol meals; Joinville (ed. Michel), p. 148, and Rockhill, note 1, p. 66 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*. p. **192** l. 23

CHAPTER 6.

1. *Sharp of taste*: in Hak.'s original *fermentari*. p. **193** l. 3
2. *Raspes*: in Hak.'s original *raspei*. Rockhill translates 'like *rapé wine*' (p. 67 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*). l. 6
3. *Almon*: in Hak's original *amygdalini*. l. 8
4. *Caracosmos*: this beverage, acc. to Rockhill, Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, p. 67, note 2, is not made now. After this clause, Hak. does not translate the next three lines *Lac equinum non coagulatur...equae non coagulatur*. Cf. Carpini, pp. 671—2 of *Recueil* text, on the Mongol mares kept for milking. l. 10
5. *Whay* [*or white must*]: in Hak.'s original *serum*. l. 15
6. [*Rams*] *skinnes*: in Hak.'s original *vtribus*. l. 28
7. *Drosse* [*of iron*]: in Hak.'s original *scoria*, 'iron slag.' On *gry-ut*, *gruit*, or *grut*, the *kurt* of the Kirghiz, cf. Radlov, *Aus Siberien*, I. 298, 428; M. Polo, I. 254, 257 (Yule); Rockhill, note 2, p. 68 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.* I. 94, note 244; see also p. 234 of the *Recueil* text. l. 34

CHAPTER 7.

1. *Litle beasts*: in Hak.'s original *marmotes*, a trans. of *sogur* (*soghur* or *sur*). p. **194** l. 9

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2. *A kind of conies*: in Hak.'s original *cuniculi*. Cp. M. Polo, I. 244 (Yule). l. 13
3. *Roes*: in Hak.'s original *gaselos*. The *Artak* mentioned in the next line is the *Argali* or *Ovis Poli*: cf. M. Polo, I. 181 (Yule): the *wild asses* here referred to are the *culam* (*kulan*) of p. 278, *Recueil* text. l. 17
4. *Other haukes*: in Hak.'s original *herodios*, perh. 'peregrine falcons.' Cf. M. Polo, I. 262 (Yule). On Asiatic falcons, etc. and the falconry of the Mongols see also M. Polo, I. 384, 388 (Yule); Radlov, *Aus Siberien*, I. 466; Atkinson, *Amoor*, 146—8, 333—5. l. 22
5. *Cataya...Persia...Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria...Pascatir...Hungaria...Kersis*: from Cathay or North China came the *panni serici et aurei*, translated *stuffes of silke, cloth of gold*, perhaps Carpini's *purpura*, and *baldakinum*; cf. d'Avezac in *Recueil*, pp. 524—5. It seems less likely that Rubruquis' *cloth of cotton* is Carpini's *bukeranum*, cf. *Recueil* text, p. 290. or stiff buckram; from Persia and other parts of S. and S.W. Asia came the *telae de bambasio* (*bombasio*) or cotton cloth. Cf. Pegolotti, *Pratica della mercatura* in Pagnini's *Della decima*, III. pp. 4, 136 (1766); Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II. 611—14, 698—9; Marco Polo, I. 48 (Yule). *Kersis* or *Kerkis* here apparently means the Kirghiz country; usually it refers to the Circassians, in Rubruquis, as in Carpini (*Recueil*, 678, 679; contrast the use of the term, apparently for the Kirghiz, on pp. 659, 708 of Carpini, in same). l. 32
6. After *Two gownes* Hak. does not translate *ad minus*. l. 41
7. *Papions*: the Latin *papio* referred to is perhaps a kind of fox or badger p. **195** l. 3

p. 195 (as Rockhill suggests, note 4, p. 70 Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*). *Papion* in French means a baboon; this fur is again mentioned by Rub. p. 315 of *Recueil* text (not in Hak.).

l. 12 **8.** *Fur* [*their gowns*]: in Hak.'s original *furrant*. On the Mongol dress cf. Carpini, *Recueil* text, p. 614.

9. *Pelluce or silke shag*: in Hak.'s original *stupa setae*.

l. 19 **10.** *Couerings for their stooles*: in Hak.'s original *pauellas sub sellis*.

CHAPTER 8.

l. 27 **1.** *Shaue...two seames*: in Hak.'s original *ducunt rasuram cristae capitis*: for *hinder part of their head* Hak.'s original has only *collum*.

l. 29 **2.** *Nape of the necke*: in Hak.'s original *summum concauitatis ceruicis*.

l. 32 **3.** *Vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads they haue two lockes also*: in Hak.'s original *in angulis occipitis relinquunt crines*; for *twine and braid into knots* Hak.'s original has only *faciunt tricas*, and for *vnder each eare one* the text reads *vsque ad aures*. On the Mongol appearance, fashions of shaving, etc., cp. Carpini, pp. 611—2 of *Recueil* text; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, XXIX. 71.

p. 196 l. 2 **4.** *Tartars... Turkes*: this distinction of Turk and Tartar is very noticeable in a West European of the 13th cent. The fashion here described is confirmed by Chinese annals of the 6th cent., speaking of the Turks (*Chou Shu*, L. 3).

l. 5 **5.** *Botta*: otherwise *Bocca*, the ornament properly called *Bogtak* or *Boghthak*; cf. Carpini, 614—15 of *Recueil* text; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.* XXIX. 85; Ricold of Montecroce in *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, 116; Ibn Batuta, II. 379, 388; Odoric, ch. 38 [369, 409 (Cordier); 131—2, and Appendix I. p. xxxi (Yule, *Cathay*)]; Rockhill, note 2, p. 73 in Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 52—53, and note 125; *Journal Asiatique*, série IV. vol. X. 169; vol. XVI. 157, which refers to the survival of the Bogtak among some of the Circassian and Ossetian women in the earlier 19th century. According to Potanin (*Mongolia*, II. 23), it is now extinct in Mongolia.

l. 8 **6.** *A square sharp spire...pinacle*: in Hak.'s original simply *quadrum... columnae*.

l. 11 **7.** *Sayd spire*: in Hak.'s original *capitellum*.

l. 17 **8.** *Hat or coyfe*: in Hak.'s original *almucia*.

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l. 27 **9.** *Bestriding their horses like men*: in Hak.'s original *sicut viti* [for *viri*] *diuersificantes coxas*.

l. 28 **10.** *About their wastes*: in Hak.'s original *super renes*.

l. 29 **11.** *With another skarfe they girde it aboue their breasts*: in Hak.'s original *alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas*.

l. 30 **12.** *Silke like a mufler or maske*: not in Hak.'s original. On the Mongol women on horseback, cf. Simon of St Quentin in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXIX. 85; Carpini, p. 643 of the *Recueil* text; Matthew Paris, *Historia Maior*, IV. 388; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 329.

l. 33 **13.** *Sweet* [*faces*]: not in Hak.'s original, which has *facies* only. On these unguent fashions in Tibet in the 7th cent. A.D. and their present existence, cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 214.

CHAPTER 9.

1. *Dreadful* [*thunder*]: not in Hak.'s original. On the Mongol hatred of washing, cf. Carpini, pp. 639—40 of *Recueil* text; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 409; II. 92—93, 618. On the fear of thunder and lightning, cf. Carpini, p. 627 and p. 632 of *Recueil* text, and for a rather different superstition, Schiltberger, Hak. Soc., 50. p. **197** l. 6

2. *Stirrops*: in Hak.'s original *strepas*. l. 16

3. *Saddles*: in Hak.'s original *cellas*. On the occupation of the Mongol men, cf. Carpini, p. 643 of *Recueil* text.

4. *Stale*: in Hak.'s original *adultae*. On the Mongol marriage customs cf. Carpini, pp. 612—13, 642, in *Recueil* text; Simon of St Quentin in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXIX. 76; Marco Polo, I. 222, 245 (Yule); *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), 251; Gomboyev, 652. l. 27

CHAPTER 10.

1. *Goes by the worst*: in Hak.'s original *peiorem partem habet*. On the Mongol legislation, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 408, 416; Carpini, pp. 641—2, 624—8, of *Recueil* text; Marco Polo, I. 259 (Yule); Ibn Batuta, II. 364. p. **198** l. 14

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2. *Witches*: in Hak.'s original *veneficas*. l. 34

3. *Mangu-Can*: Mangu is the Great Khan (1251—7) visited by Rubruquis in 1254. On Mongol funeral customs, cf. Carpini, pp. 628—633, in *Recueil* text; Simon of St Quentin in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, XXIX. 86; Ibn Batuta, IV. 301; see also Rubruquis, pp. 236—8 and later, p. 344 of *Recueil* text. l. 38

4. *Chingis,...their first lord and father*: Rockhill, note 2, pp. 80—2 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, compares the Chinese title of *Tai tsu* 'great ancestor': cf. Argun's letter of 1285 to the Pope on *Gingiscam primo patri...Tartarorum* (Chabot, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha...et Rabban Çauma*, 190). p. **199** l. 2

5. *Comaniās*: on the Kuman and other South Russian grave-mounds, cf. Pallas, *Travels in...Southern Provinces of...Russian Empire*, II. 305—9, 335—6 (1803); Rubruquis, pp. 237, 247 of *Recueil* text. On these *tumuli* or *kurgans* in Central and Northern Asia, cf. Atkinson, *Amoor*, I. 150—1, 179, 191—2; one of the most famous of these preserves (and gives to a town) the name of 'Kurgan,' in West Siberia. On the Kumans in general see also Rubruquis, p. 246 of the *Recueil* text (where they are identified with the Kipchak); Carpini in the *Recueil*, pp. 742—3, 747; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 68—73. The suggestion that the name is simply a shortening of 'Turkumans' (made by Pears, *Fall of Constantinople*, p. 56) is hard to accept. It is more probably connected with the river Kuma, in Cis-Caucasia, flowing into the Caspian north of the Terek. l. 7

6. *Pyramides* [*...stones*]: in Hak.'s original *domos*. l. 13

CHAPTER 11.

1. *From the towne of Soldaia*, in Hak.'s original *de villa* only. Rockhill believes Constantinople is referred to (note 2, p. 83 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*), but this seems a little forced. p. **200** l. 1

p. **200** l. 7 **2.** *Sartach...a Christian*: see note 20, chap. I.

l. 23 **3.** *Scacati...the Emperor of Constantinople*: in Hak.'s original *Scacatai*, described as *consanguineus Baatu* or *one of Baatu his kinsmen*. *Scatay*, *Scatatai*, *Scatanay* are other readings of this name (see critical notes) which some identify with Carpini's *Cadan* (*Kadan*), p. 667—others with *Cartan*, p. 743—of *Recueil* text: this however is far from clear. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 308—9, and note 742; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 99.

l. 26 **4.** After *conduct vs* and before *Howbeit*, Hak. does not translate the sentence *Et alij qui adduxerant nos sunt reuersi*.

l. 30 **5.** *Gloues*: in Hak.'s original *chirothecas*.

6. *Points*: in Hak.'s original *corrigias*.

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l. 33 **7.** *A very varlet*: in Hak.'s original *batrator*. On Mongol insolence cf. Carpini, pp. 636—7 of *Recueil* text.

l. 37 **8.** After *lords* Hak. does not translate *mundi*.

l. 42 **9.** *Apram*: two MSS. read *Agram*, the best *Airam*, and so the Paris *Recueil* edition of 1839. *Airan* or *hyran* is still the ordinary drink of the Kirghiz, cf. Radlov, *Aus Siberien*, I. 439; Atkinson, *Amoor*, I. 41--2.

p. **201** l. 4 **10.** *Vnder...starry canopy*: in Hak.'s original *sub dio*.

CHAPTER 12.

l. 24 **1.** *Past three of the clocke*: in Hak.'s original *Hora plusquam tertia* i.e. a little after 9 a.m. Ibn Batuta's account of his first view of a Tartar (Kipchak) camp (II. 380) is very similar to Rubruquis'.

l. 32 **2.** *A maund*: in Hak.'s original *veringal*, a small basket. Cf. M. Polo, p. 280 (Pauthier); I. 371 (Yule).

l. 36 **3.** *A citron*: in Hak.'s original *citharulam*, Rockhill's 'guitar,' p. 87, Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

l. 38 **4.** *More flat and saddle-nosed*: in Hak.'s original *simior*.

p. **202** l. 11 **5.** *In stead of a blessing*: in Hak.'s original *pro benedictione*.

l. 16 **6.** *Eight dayes after...Ascension*: i.e. June 5, 1253.

l. 18 **7.** *Written in Greeke*: this is noticeable, as the letters were from the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., 1228—1261.

l. 20 **8.** *Cosmos...Christians...Russians...wil in no case drinke*: cf. Dulaurier, *Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens* (*Journal Asiatique*, série V. vol. XI. pp. 236, 238), giving evidence of the same prejudice among the Christian Georgians.

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l. 36 **9.** *The Apostles creed*: in Hak.'s original *symbolum fidei*.

l. 37 **10.** *Shooke...[head]*: in Hak.'s original *mouit*.

l. 42 **11.** *The morowe after Pentecost*: i.e. June 8, 1253.

CHAPTER 13.

p. **203** l. 3 **1.** *Euen of Pentecost...Alanians...Acias...greeke bookes and...priests...not schismatiques*: Pentecost eve is June 6, 1253. On the Alans cf. Bretschneider,

Mediaeval Researches, I. 295, 298—9, 305; and esp. II. 84—90; note 9 to chap. 23 of Carpini, and note 8 to chap. 16 of Rubruquis in this vol. p. **203**

Without acception of persons is Hak.'s reproduction of *sine acceptione personarum*.

2. *Sodden* [*flesh*]: in Hak.'s original *coctas*. l. 8

3. *Christians...Russians...Hungarians...Cosmos*: cf. note 9, chap. 12. l. 15

4. *Yperpera*: see note 33 to chap. 1, above; and Rockhill, note 1, p. 90 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*. The gold coins of the Byzantine currency were said to contain one-third alloy, at this time. l. 28

5. *One thing most necessary greatly wanting*: in Hak.'s original *vinum iam deficiebat*. l. 31

CHAPTER 14.

1. *Pentecost...Saracen...Cosmos*: Pentecost or Whitsun Day, 1253, was June 7. p. **204** l. 4

2. *Russians...great multitude* [*in that place*: in Hak.'s original *inter eos*]. That Russians were numerous in 1253 so far to the S.E. is noteworthy. See note 14, chap. 15. l. 21

3. *Extremity of...prouince...fortified with a ditch...salt pits*: cf. the story of the making of the ditch in Herodotus, III. 2, 15; also see Strabo, VII. 3; VII. 4, on the Ταφροι and the isthmus (of Perekop). [*Soone*, l. 36, is for *soone*.] l. 33

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4. [*Bladders*] *of milke*: in Hak.'s original *lacte vaccino*. p. **205** l. 4

5. *Gasaria...directly Eastward...Sea...South...waste desert...North*: here *waste* in Hak.'s original is *vastam*. After passing the isthmus of Perekop and leaving the Crimea (Gazaria), Rubruquis' course was not due eastward (*recte in orientem*) but N.E. l. 9

6. *Comanians...called Capthac...by the Dutch men* [in Hak.'s original *Tentonicis*, for *Teutonicis*]...*called Valani...Valania*: here *Capchat*, a better reading for *Capthac*, is obviously *Kipchak*, the *Kin-cha* and *Ko-fu-cha* of the Chinese. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 68—73; also, in the same work, pp. 23—4, 295—299, 300—308, 310—312 of vol. I.; pp. 8, 75, 141 of vol. II.; and notes 829—833. l. 13

In Ye-lu-Chu-tsai's travels (1218—24), *op. cit.*, I. 23—24, we find *Ko-fu-cha* identified expressly with *Ku-li-han*, the Kipchak country, and in spite of Bretschneider's rejection, this statement appears well borne out by the particulars reported by the Chinese records under each name. Evidently both refer to a land stretching very far north. Night in summer is barely long enough to cook a mutton chop (or sheep's liver) in.

7. *Isidore...riuer of Tanais...Męotis...Danubius...Alania*: Isidore is Rubruquis' chief geographical book of reference, but the explorer refutes his 'authority' on the question of the inland character of the Caspian, p. 265 of *Recueil* text. l. 16

Rubruquis, unlike Carpini, shews no knowledge of the name *Don* and only uses the classical *Tanais*, just as he always speaks of the *Etilia* and never of the *Volga*.

8. *Edil or Volga*: the last two words are not in Hak.'s original, which never speaks of Don or Volga; cf. *Olcus* for *Volga* in the Psalter Map of about 1250 (B. Mus. Add. MSS. 6806); Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 621. The last six lines of this 14th chapter, in the Latin original, are made in l. 23

p. **205** Hak.'s version the first six lines of the 15th. The description and localization given of Russia, north of Comania and stretching from Poland and Hungary to the (Upper) Tanais or Don, is thoroughly sound.

CHAPTER 15.

l. 32 **1.** *Saracens...Russians...flockes...Prussia*: after *beyond Russia* Hak. does not translate the words *ad aquilonem.*

On the oppressions of the Mongol tax-gatherers (*baschati* or *baskaks*) in Russia, cf. Carpini, p. 700, 701, 703, of *Recueil* text; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 77—8.

l. 37 **2.** *Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Ierusalem... wholly conquered and subdued*: in Hak.'s original *subiugauerunt fratres Teutonici.* The complete conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights was lately (*nuper*), says Rub.; as a matter of fact it was begun *c.* 1230, but not completed till after 1300.

l. 39 **3.** *Might...winne Russia...[helping hand*: in Hak.'s original *manum* simply]: a curious passage which shews how much less Rubruquis had grasped the military situation, and the strength of the Mongol empire in war, than Carpini.

p. **206** l. 1 **4.** *The great Priest* (*magnus sacerdos*) is evidently a Tartar name for the Pope. Cf. note 7, chap. 24. For *desert and solitarie places* Hak.'s original gives only *solitudinem.* From this passage it is difficult not to infer that Rubruquis' general intelligence was distinctly lower than Carpini's, in some respects.

l. 3 **5.** *Went on*: in Hak.'s original *ibbamus.*

l. 4 **6.** *Towards the East...Sea of Tanais...sepulchres of the Comanians*: for 'East' read 'North-East.' The *Sea of Tanais* is of course that of Azov, usually called *Palus Maeotis* by Rubruquis; but see his strange and confused language on p. 250 of the *Recueil* text, about the Tanais *rising* (*oritur*; in Hak., *mergitur*) 'in the Maeotid marshes which extend to the Ocean in the North.'

l. 7 **7.** *In which places...wont...burie...kinred altogether*: in Hak.'s original *Secundum quod solebant parentelae...sepeliri simul*, 'the custom of burying the whole of a family in one spot' (Rockhill).

l. 13 **8.** After *eight persons of vs* Hak. does not translate *exceptis servientibus.* His *waifaring prouision* is a trans. of *viaticum.* The reckoning 'five' included Rubruquis himself, Bartholomew of Cremona, Gosset, the Dragoman 'Homo Dei,' and the *puer Nicholaus*; see pp. 218—9 of *Recueil* text. The 'eight' persons were made up by three guides.

On the privations endured by travellers in the Mongol dominions, the best parallel to Rubruquis here is Carpini, 637, 670, 745, 762—3 (*Recueil*); see also Simon of St Quentin in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXXI. [XXXII.] 40—52.

l. 32 **9.** *I cannot nor I will not*: in Hak.'s original *nescio* only.

l. 34 **10.** *A litle smattering*: in Hak.'s original *aliquantulum.*

l. 36 **11.** *Whatsoeuer came next...witlesse tongues end*: in Hak.'s original *secundum quod ei occurrebat.*

l. 40 **12.** *Saint Marie Magdalene*, i.e. July 22, 1253.

l. 41 **13.** *Tanais...diuideth...as...Nilus...disioyneth....* This division of the Continents was already established in Herodotus' time: cf. Herod. III. 32; Pomponius Mela, I. 603. From the Tanais or Don, Rubruquis reckons nine days to Sartach's camp and three more to the Volga. He cannot therefore be

supposed to have struck the Don quite at Kalatch, where it approaches nearest to (37 E. miles from) the Volga. p. **206**

14. *Baatu and Sartach...cottage...Easterne banke...companie of Russians.* This colony of Russians was at a great distance from the (then) home land of the Russian people: see note 2, ch. 14. We may remember that in the most powerful age of the old Russian states, Sviatoslav was said to have seized the Khazar town of Bielovej [-vezh] on the Don, A.D. 963—6; cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 85. l. 43

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15. *Lyter*: in Hak.'s original *barca*. [*Rowe* is for *rowed*.] p. **207** l. 6

16. *Played the foole most extreamely*: in Hak.'s original *egit valde stulte*. l. 8

17. *Turbut...rye*: in Hak.'s original *borbatam...de siligine*. *Borbota* is the reading of the Paris text, following the best MS. (D). It was a river-fish, whether a barbel or sterlet is meant, or some other fish; in any case it could not be a turbot on the middle Don. See note 12, ch. 1. l. 17

18. *At euerie house*: in Hak.'s original *ostiatim per diuersas domos*. The *purueyer of the village* (*procurator villae*) would be in Russian the *Starosta* or Elder. l. 19

19. *Broad...as the...Sein is at Paris*: cf. p. 264 of the *Recueil* text, where the Etilia (Volga) is described as four times greater than the Seine. In both cases, as elsewhere, beyond the limits of Hak.'s text, Rubruquis writes as a Parisian. l. 21

20. [*Fennes*] *of Maeotis, which fennes*: in Hak.'s original *de paludibus* simply. This wild piece of geography has even been construed by Rockhill into a hint of the true sources of the Don in the Ivanski Lake near Tula (note 2 to p. 97 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*). It seems rather a proof of ignorance. l. 28

21. [*A...sea*] 700 *miles about*: in Hak.'s original *septingentorum millium*. Cf. p. 215 of *Recueil* text (ch. 1, Hak.) where the sea of Tanais is said to have a length and breadth of 700 miles (*in latitudine et longitudine septinginta milliaria*). The real dimensions of the sea of Azov are about 235 by 110 E. miles. l. 29

22. *Wheat prospereth not*, etc. This is not the modern experience of the inhabitants in the middle Don basin. l. 43

23. *Russian women attire...heads like vnto our women*: a strange statement in view of the well-known peculiarities of the old Russian female head-dress. p. **208** l. 2

24. *Safegards or gowns*: in Hak.'s original *supertunicalia*. The words *with particoloured or grey stuffe* which follow are in Hak.'s original *vario vel grisio* ('with vaire or minnever'). l. 3

25. *Russian men...Dutch men*: the last words in Hak.'s original are represented by *Teutonici*, here as elsewhere. *Russian* is supplied by Hak.; the original reads *homines* simply. l. 4

26. *Much like vnto a sugar loaf*: these words are not in Hak.'s original. l. 7

27. *Descry*: in Hak.'s original *inuenire*. l. 13

28. *Fourth day of our iourney...second of the Kalends of August*, i.e. on the fourth day after leaving the Don: the second of the Kalends of August is July 31, 1253.

CHAPTER 16.

1. *Region...beyond Tanais...Moxel...high Germanie...Merdui*: the two l. 22

p. **208** words *high Germanie* are a translation of *Alemannia*. After this Hak. does not translate the words *Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemaniae*.

On the *Moxel* and *Merdas* ('Mordvins') cf. Carpini, pp. 676—7, 709, 747 of *Recueil* text and note 7 to ch. 15 of Carpini in Hak.'s version; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 311, 317; II. 70, and notes 748, 830; Constantine Porphyrogennetos (on Μορδία), *De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 37; Nestor, *Chronicle*, chs. I., VII., LXXXV. on the *Mordva*, esp. under A.M. 6611; Smirnov, *Populations finnoises*, I. 260—4, 337. The *Moxel* apparently correspond to the mostly Pagan *Moxia*, inhabited by *Moxii*, of Josafat (Giosafatte) Barbaro, *Travels to Tana and Persia* (1436, etc.), Hak. Soc., pp. 33—34.

l. 29 **2.** *The braue courage of the Almans*: in Hak.'s original *Alemanos* only: *as yet* in Hak.'s original is *adhuc*. Cf. p. 247 of *Recueil* text (ch. 15, Hak.), where the author's confidence in the Teutonic Order and its ability to deliver all Russia from the Tartars is still more plainly expressed.

l. 35 **3.** *Not ielous*: in Hak.'s original *non zelotypi*.

l. 38 **4.** *Merclas*: an obvious misprint for *Merdas* (*Merdui*, *Merdini*, i.e. *Morduini* or *Mordvins*) which is the reading of Hak.'s original: see note 1 in this chap. As to their being *Saracens*, there may have been Moslems among them, but as a whole they seem to have been Pagans.

Cf. Carpini, pp. 676—7, 709, 747 of *Recueil* text (on the *Mordui*, *Morduani*, and *Morduini*), and note 7 to ch. 15 of Carpini in Hak.'s version. D'Avezac's identification of the *Merdas* with the *Burtas*, *Bertas*, or *Bartas* of Moslem geographers (e.g. Masudi, II. 14) is rejected by Smirnov, *Populations finnoises*, I. 264. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 311—312, who refers the term to the *Burtasses* (Chuvashes?), living on the Middle Volga in the 10th century.

l. 39 **5.** *Or Volga*: not in Hak.'s original; the same applies to the words [*Etilia*] *otherwise called Volga*, a little later. The source of the Volga in 'the North part of Bulgaria the greater' might pass if applied to the Kama; in reference to the Volga these words cannot possibly be taken as an indication of the true origin of the river (in the Valdai plateau). Cf. on Great Bulgaria, Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 81—4, and esp. 83.

p. **209** l. 2 **6.** *Certain lake containing in circuit...4 moneths trauel*: the Caspian, of course, which a little later in same chap., p. 252 of *Recueil* text, Rubruquis calls the sea or lake of Etilia, and defines as *made* by Etilia with the help of other rivers from Persia [p. 105 of Hak.'s Eng. vers.], cf. also p. 265 of *Recueil* text.

l. 6 **7.** *Not distant...aboue x. daies iourney*: at the point where the Don approaches most near to the Volga, the distance between the two rivers is only 37 E. miles, a very long 10 days! it is pretty clear from this that Rubruquis must have struck the Don considerably N. (or S.) of Kalach.

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l. 10 **8.** *To...South...high mountains...Cergis...Alani...Lesgi*: these high mountains are of course the Caucasus, which Rubruquis passed (by the Derbent Pass) on his return journey. The *Cergis* here are the *Cherkess* or Circassians, as usually in Carpini and in Rubruquis, though both writers employ the term also for the Kirghiz; cf. pp. 231 (Rub.), 659, 678—9 (Carp.) of *Recueil* text. See note 1, chap. 12, note 1, chap. 16, of Carpini.

On the Alans, Asi, or Aas, see note 9, ch. 23 of Carpini and pp. 709, 748 of the *Recueil*; Marco Polo, II. 162, 491 (Yule); Ammianus Marcellinus,

xxxi. 2; Marignolli, Book ii., ch. 2; in Yule, *Cathay*, 373; in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. iii., p. 507 (1882); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii. 84—91, and esp. 85—6, 91; a wonderful piece of concentrated and illuminating study; Masudi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. 42, according to whom the Alans first embraced Christianity and afterwards Islam; Karamzin's *Russian History* iv. 119, 355, which tells how Sviatoslav in 963—6 fought with the Yasi (Asi, Alans) and how the same race was known to the Russians of the 13th century as living beyond the Terek under the northern face of the Caucasus. On the Lesgi (Lazi?) cf. Jordanes (Nisard, 1869), 432; Ibn Alathir in *Journal Asiatique*, série iv., xiv. 455; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 295. p. **209**

9. *Lesgi...in subiection*: Hak. does not translate *similiter* here. l. 15

10. *Or the yron gate...Derbent*: not in Hak.'s original. The story of Alexander's wall built across the gate of Derbent 'to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia' is told very fully in the *Koran*, ch. xviii., *The Cave*, verses 82—96. See also M. Polo, i. 55, ii. 537 (Yule); Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 93; Masudi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. 2, 3, 7, 72 (B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille), preserves the tradition of Chosroes Nushirvan building this wall (531—579 A.D.). Cf. Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, iv. 3; the Armenian notices collected and Klaproth in *Journal Asiatique*, xvi. 277; Al-Istakhri (Mordtmann, 1845) p. 86; also in Ouseley's [so-called] *Ibn Haukal*, 158; Ibn Khordadbeh (Barbier de Meynard) in *Journal Asiatique*, série vi., vol. v. pp. 490—6: Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, i. 407, 414, 433; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i. 115—9, and note 846, where the tradition is mentioned of an earlier Persian King, Kobad, the predecessor of Chosroes Nushirvan, fortifying both the Pass of Derbent and that of Darial or The Alans' Gate (A.D. 491—531); Rubruquis passed through the gate of Derbent on his return (pp. 381—2 of the *Recueil* text). See next note. l. 16

11. *Vnderstand more...trauailed...by...same*: this part of Rub.'s journey is wanting in Hakluyt: it may be found in pp. 381—4 of the text in the Paris *Recueil*. All the latter half of Rub. is equally missing from Hak., from p. 291 (foot) of the *Recueil* text to the end, p. 396. The portion printed by Hak. only represents pp. 213—291 of the same (1839) edition. l. 18

12. *Betweene...riuers...Comanians*: the rivers referred to here must be Tanais and Etilia (Don and Volga) though several lines have intervened since Rub. last spoke of 'these two streams.' l. 20

CHAPTER 17.

1. *Sartach...Etilia...Court*: the Camp of Sartach was properly speaking Rubruquis' objective, and if he had interpreted his instructions as narrowly as Ascelin and Simon of St Quentin (1247) he would not have gone further. l. 25

2. *Three* [*wiues*]: in Hak.'s original *duas vel tres*. l. 28

3. *About* [200]: in Hak.'s original *forte*. l. 29

4. *Nestorian...Coiat*: this is Rub.'s first reference to the Nestorian courtiers and ministers so powerful at the Mongol courts. *Coiac* is the best reading of the name, and so Hak.'s text reads later (e.g. later in this chap. 17, and at the beg. of chap. 18 = pp. 256, 257 of *Recueil* text). l. 30

5. *The Lordes Gate*: in Hak.'s original *domini Iannam*; the best reading is *dominum qui vocatur Iamiam*. A little later Hak. does not translate *dictus* before *Coiat*. On *Iannam* cf. Rub. p. 298 of the *Recueil* text (not in Hak.) where the word is spelt *Iam*: it was the title of the officer who had charge of l. 32

p. **209** the imperial postal and courier service under the Mongols and survives in Russian (*Yam*, *Yamshchik*, etc.).

Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 406—7; II. 63; Marco Polo, I. 420, 423 (Yule).

p. **210** l. 2 **6.** *Vsing*: in Hak.'s original *tractans*.

l. 3 **7.** *Vestiments*: in Hak.'s original *capella*. A little later, *our deuotions* is a translation of *benedictionem*.

l. 14 **8.** *Prince among...Franckes...Emperour...king of France...*: *Franciae* is omitted by the *Recueil* text, but in any case is understood.

On Baldwin of Hainault, his marriage to a Kuman princess about 1240, and his journey to Karakorum, see Rubruquis p. 326 in *Recueil* text (not in Hak.). Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, Paris, 1824, XVII. 392. For [*socius*] *domus dominicae*, a 'Knight of the Temple,' the *Recueil* text reads, with the best MSS., [*socius*] *David*; the manuscript abbreviation has been misunderstood by Hakluyt, and by Purchas after him; Bergeron of course only translates from the text of Hak. and Purch. On this David and his companion Marcus (whom Rockhill thinks the *socius* here referred to) see William of Nangis in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, Paris, 1840, 360. That David's alleged mission to Louis IX. (while at Nikosia in Cyprus) from the Mongol general Ilchikadai, commanding in Persia, was an imposture, is declared by Mangu Khan in the letter entrusted to Rubruquis, p. 370 of *Recueil* text.

l. 41 **9.** *Curtesie*: in Hak.'s original *mandato*.

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p. **211** l. 25 **10.** *Nestorians...Armenians...figure of Christ*: cf. Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, 1844, II. 132, 414, and Rockhill, note 3, p. 104 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

l. 31 **11.** *Arabike and Syriake...translated at Acon...Armenian priests...knight ...of the Temple...tongues*: from Acre Rub. may have set out on his journey, the first stage of which was the voyage to Constantinople.

On the Knight of the Temple (*socius domus dominicae*) or rather the *companion of David* (*socius David*) see above, note 8 in this chapter.

This passage shews how thoroughly Rubruquis had tried to equip himself for his journey by means of the most useful Levantine languages. He mentions an Arabic MS. among his books.

l. 42 **12.** *Feast of S. Peter ad vincula*: i.e. Aug. 1, 1253.

CHAPTER 18.

p. **213** l. 4 **1.** *The Bible...sentences...Psalter of...the Queene*: cf. p. 272 of *Recueil* text (*nullos* [*libros*] *habebam nisi Bibliam et Breviarium*).

The *Sentences* (*Sentencias*) were probably the great work of Peter Lombard, the *Magister Sententiarum* and bishop of Paris (1158); †1164 [1160].

On Sartach's final acquisitions from Rub.'s stock of books, see p. 380 of *Recueil* text.

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l. 15 **2.** *Directly Eastward...Etilia or Volga*: the last two words are not in Hak.'s original. On the Volga cf. Carpini, p. 743 of *Recueil* text and n. 7, ch. 21; Benedict the Pole, p. 775 in *Recueil*; the Psalter Map of *c.* 1250 A.D. (*Olcus*).

It is of course the *Rha* of Ptolemy, the *Atil* (otherwise *Itil*, *Etil*, *Edil*, *Ethilia*, etc.) of Menander Protector, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Theophanes, and nearly all Byzantines and Latins of the earlier middle ages. On p. 265 (*Rec.*) Rub. compares the Etilia to the Nile because it *crescit in aestate sicut Nilus.* p. **213**

3. *Not...a Christian, but a Moal*: *Moal* is Rubruquis' favourite form of *Mongol* or *Mongal*. See note 10, chap. 19. l. 20

4. *The name of a Christian*: in Hak.'s original *nomen Christianitatis.* l. 21

CHAPTER 19.

1. *When the French-men* [*Franci*] *tooke Antioch...Con Can...diuiners... Turkes*: *Con Can* is the title 'Gur Khan' taken in 1125 (not 1098, 'when the Franks took Antioch') by Ye-lu Ta-shih, the founder of the Kara-kitai Empire in Central Asia. See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 216, 225, 235, II. 256, and note 1059. The title of *Khan* (otherwise *Khakhan*, *Kaan*, *Ko-kan*, *Cham*, *Can*, etc.) has nothing to do with the word *Kham*, a diviner, shaman or sorcerer, as Rub. thinks. l. 30

On this title and Simon of St Quentin's corruption of it into *Gog-cham*, cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXXI. [XXXII.] 32.

On the Turks (*Torci*, *Torti*, *Turci* of Carpini), whose Central Asiatic origin is clearly indicated by Rub., cf. Carpini pp. 680 (on Sultan of Rûm), 709, 749, 750 of *Recueil* text; Benedict the Pole, in same, p. 777 (on *Turkya*). See Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 49—50 and note 602 (on Turkish title of Khan, Ko-kan, Khakhan, the Byzantine Χαγάνος).

[For *the Northern regions lying thereabouts* at the beginning of this chapter Hak.'s original has only *in illis lateribus Aquilonis.*]

2. *Kara-Catay...Catay...Ocean sea.* The words *giuen to make a difference* are in Hak.'s original *ad differentiam ipsorum.* l. 40

On the Kara-kitai, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 208—235, also pp. 18, 72, 129, 167 of same, and notes 537—595.

On the name of *Cathay* [i.e. (α) China in general, (β) more narrowly, North China], cf. Carpini p. 653 in *Recueil* and note 1 to chap. 9 of Carpini (Hak.'s version); Yule, *Cathay*, xxxiii., cxv—cxvi., cxxiii., cxxxv., who perhaps does not always sufficiently recognise sense (α); Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 209, 225, 232, II. 280—281, and note 1104.

3. *Alpes...Nestorian shepheard...Yayman...Christians...King Iohn*: *Alpes* and *Pascua* are words apparently used interchangeably by Rub. here. p. **214** l. 6

On the *Nayman* or Naiman ('eight' in Turkish), the proper reading for *Yayman*, cf. Carpini, pp. 648, 752, of *Recueil* text, who says, apparently with truth, that as a nation they were heathen. See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 43, also pp. 61, 63, 73, 167, 218, 230—1, 234—5; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 163—71, etc.; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), 74, 93.

On Prester John cf. Carpini, note 3 chap. 10; Marco Polo, I. 227—233, II. 539—543 (Yule).

In the last passage the theory of Prof. Bruun of Odessa is stated, viz. that Prester John (Polo's *Unc*) is John Orbelian, the generalissimo of Georgia under several kings.

4. *Nestorians...rumors...Mangu Can...Ken Can.* On the Nestorians, their real successes in Asiatic missions, and their failure in the latest Middle Age, cf. the Singanfu inscription of 781; Abul-Faraj's account of the conversion l. 13

p. 214 of the Keraits between 1001 and 1012 (the ultimate original perhaps of the Prester John story); Carpini, pp. 650, 651 in *Recueil* (on the Uigurs); Marco Polo, ch. XXIII. p. 45 (Pauthier); Quatremère's *Rashid-ed-din*, 93; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. III. part ii. pp. 77—175, 413—617; Yule, *Cathay* lxxxviii—ci., ccxliv—v., cxxxviii—ix. 60, 81, 123, 174—182, 197—8, 204—5, 248. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 66—7, 261—3, and note 160; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, I. 212—223, II. 347—8, 352—3, 362, 364, and refs.; Palladius, *Ancient Traces of Christianity in China* in *Russian Oriental Record*, I. 25—63.

Ken Can, otherwise *Keu Can* or *Cham*, is Kuyuk Khan, Mongol Emperor 1246—48, whom Carpini visited. In Jean Pierre Sarrasin (Joinville and Sarrasin, ed. Michel, 255) he is called *Quio Quan*.

l. 23 **5.** *Frier Andrew*: i.e. Andrew of Longumeau, sent by Louis IX. to the Mongols, Feb. 1249, received by Ogul Gaimish (the regent 1248—1251) and repeatedly referred to by Rubruquis. See pp. 265, 279, 296, 310, 353, 363 of *Recueil* text and note 3 to chap. 3 of Carpini; Joinville, *Histoire de St Louis* (Michel), 142—149; William of Nangis in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, XX. 359, 360—1, 365—7; Jean Pierre Sarrasin, in Joinville, ed. Michel, 254—255; Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 318—20; Rockhill, pp. xxvii—xxxiii in Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

l. 26 **6.** *Vut*: in Hak.'s original also *Vnc*, a much better reading for Ung, Ong, or Wang Khan of the Keraits, the personage referred to; cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 242 (note 605), 273; Marco Polo, ch. LXXIII. pp. 217—19 (Pauthier; I. 227, Yule; and the latter's note on Prester John in same, pp. 229, etc.); Palladius, *Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels in North China* in the *Journal* of the China Branch of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, vol. X. pp. 23, etc.

7. *Alpes of Cara Catay*: in Hak.'s original *Alpes ipsorum Caracatay*.

l. 27 **8.** *Brother Iohn*: in Hak.'s original *fratre* only.

l. 29 **9.** *Cara Carum...Crit or Merkit...Christians*. On 'Cara-Carum' (Kara-Kuren), cf. note 3 to chap. 3 of Carpini and the latter's text, p. 608 of the *Recueil*.

On *Crit and Merkit* [for Hak.'s *or* read *and*] cf. d'Avezac in the *Recueil* pp. 533—7, and Carpini's text in same, pp. 645—7, 708; M. Polo, I. 231 (Yule); Chabot, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III....et du moine Rabban Çauma*...(Paris, 1895), p. 14; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 48—50, 54—5.

The former of these names (if not the latter as well, repeated in double-jumble, like Chin-Machin, Langa-Solanga) no doubt refers to the Keraits. If by *Merkit* the Keraits are also intended, Rub. is apparently right in thinking them to have once been Nestorian Christians.

l. 34 **10.** *Moal...Tartars*. Rockhill derives Rub.'s *Moal* from the Turkish form *Mogal*, note 1, p. 112 to Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*. The first mention of the Mongols in Eastern works is said to be in the Annals of the 'After Thang' 923—934 A.D. They are mentioned as Μουγουλίους in the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres (1255—1308). Cf. Carpini, p. 645 of the *Recueil* text, on the *Mongali* and n. 1, ch. 8, ns. 1—4, ch. 3 of Carpini (Hak.'s version); Simon of St Quentin in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXXI. [XXXII.] 34, on the *Mongol* or *Mongli*. On the name Tartar (Ταχάρι, Ταχάριοι, Ταtάρι, and Τοχάρι in the Byzantines, e.g. George Akropolita and George Pachymeres) cf. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 98, 126, 140; Rockhill, note 1, p. 113, of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, who thinks the first occurrence of the name is in A.D. 732;

Matth. Paris, *Historia Maior*, IV. 78, 109, 131—3 (Rolls Series); William of Nangis, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, XX. 365; the Letter of Ivo of Narbonne A.D. 1243 (in Hak. pp. 21, 22 of the edition of 1598 or 1599) which uses the form *Tattar* or *Tatar*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 427, 428—9 (reproducing Rashid-ed-din); also same, I. 22, on the name *Mongol* (='simple,' 'feeble'). p. **214**

11. *Issue male*: in Hak.'s original *haerede.* l. 39

12. *Cyngis*: in Carpini usually *Chingis*, and so often written in Rubruquis MSS.; cf. pp. 646—8, 650, etc. in the *Recueil* text, and note 3, chap. 8, note 7, chap. 9 of Carpini (Hak.'s version). l. 42

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13. *Mangu-Can.* On Mangu Khan's mother, called *Seroctan* by Carpini (*Recueil*, p. 666) otherwise *Siurkukteni*, niece (not daughter) of Ung Khan and wife of Tului, Chinghiz Khan's youngest son, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 67—8; II. 59—60, 267; note 5 chap. 13 of Carpini (Hak.'s version). On another wife of Tului, a grand-daughter of Ung Khan, cf. Quatremère's *Rashid-ed-din*, 93. p. **215** l. 15

14. *Tartars...consumed*: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 427—9, reproducing one of the most important passages of Rashid-ed-din. l. 20

15. *Mancherule*: a misreading for *Onan-Kerule*, the basins of the Onon and Kerulen (Kerulun), head waters of the Amur. Cf. Quatremère's *Rashid-ed-din*, 115, etc.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 49—51, 54—55, 192, 249. l. 25

16. *Tartaria*: in Hak.'s original *Tartari.*

17. *For the most part*: in Hak.'s original *prope.* l. 27

CHAPTER 20.

1. *Russians...Alanians*: [The *Valachians* of the text here is a translation of *Blacorum.*] In this list of Christians who had to pass by Sartach in going to Batu's Court, it is curious to find *Kerkis* [here prob. meant for Circassians, rather than Kirghiz]. Though Rub. vehemently doubts the Christianity of Sartach, he admits here the prominence of Nestorian priests at his court. On their services, gongs, etc. (*pulsant tabulam*), cf. Carpini, p. 766 of *Recueil* text; William of Nangis, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, XX. 362 (*pulsant campanas et percutiunt tabulas*); Rockhill, note 3, p. 116, of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.* l. 35

2. *More in league with*: in Hak.'s original *magis amplectitur.* l. 38

3. *Pray vpon their beades...deuotions*: in Hak.'s original *pulsant tabulam ...officium.* p. **216** l. 1

4. *Vnder Baatu...Berta*: in Hak.'s original *Berta super* [for *frater*] *Baatu.* On *Berta*, Carpini's *Berca* (i.e. Berké), cf. *Recueil*, p. 668, and note 5 to chap. 13 of Carpini (Hak.'s version). Rub. is well up to date in noticing Berké's conversion to Islam; cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 8, III. 377—8, 418—9; Marco Polo, chaps. 2, 220—6 [supplementary]; pp. 6—7, 754—9 (Pauthier). l. 2

5. *Porta ferrea or Derbent*: the last two words are not in Hak.'s original. On this pass cf. Rubruquis on pp. 381—2 of the *Recueil*, and note 10 to chap. 16 of Rub. (Hak.'s version). l. 3

6. *Etilia...foure times greater then...Scin*: another Parisian comparison, cp. note 19 to chap. 15 of Rub. (Hak.'s version). l. 28

p. **216** l. 30 7. After *Bulgaria the greater* Hak. does not translate *quae est ad Aquilonem*. Rubruquis' description *veniens de maiori Bulgaria quae...aquilonem* can hardly be considered an indication of the true source and course of the Volga, as taken by Rockhill, p. xxxvii of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*: cf. note 2, chap. 18 of Rub.; note 7, chap. 21 of Carp.

l. 31 8. *Hircan sea...Caspian...Frier Andrew...I my selfe...inuironed on all sides with lande*: in Hak.'s original we have *Sircan* for *Hircan*, *Canglae* for *Changlae*, and nothing for the words *and in returning likewise*, after *Mangu-Can*. The Paris text reads *Sirsan*; other readings are *Sirtan*, *Sirran*, *Sircan* [i.e. *Shirvan*?]. The 'Sea of Hyrcania' seems a plausible emendation. Isidore's name of the 'Caspian' (*Sinus Caspius*), to which Rub. refers, occurs in *Etymologies*, XIII. xv. 2, XIII. xvii. 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, LXXXII. 484, 486 Migne) where it is termed a gulf of the Ocean (*Sinus dicuntur maiores recessus maris, ut...in Oceano Caspius, Indicus, etc.*), the view of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 36. Cf. also Marco Polo, I. 54 (Yule). Herodotus, I. 276, and Ptolemy, are the chief ancient authorities supporting Rubruquis in the true view of this water as an inland sea. See also Bacon, *Opus Maius*, I. 354 (ed. Bridges). Friar Andrew and Rubruquis together entirely encircled the Caspian.

The *montes Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum* are of course to the South of the Caspian, not to the East, as Rubruquis puts them. The great Persian fortress of the 'Hashish-eaters' was Alamut, N.E. of Kazvin. *Musihet*, otherwise *Muliech*, *Mulihec*, is from the Arabic word *mulhid*, 'a heretic,' best shewn in the forms *Mulidet*, *Melahideh*.

On the *Canglae* (*Kankly*, *Kankalis* of Moslem writers, Κάγκαρ, Κάγγαρ, of Byzantines), cf. Carpini, 749 of the *Recueil* text (who calls them *Cangitae*); Const. Porph., *De Adm. Imp.*, chap. 37; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 196—197; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 301—4, also pp. 28, 223, 229, 299 of the same vol. and notes 735, 738. The name signifies *Wheeled-Cav*[*s*]. Const. Porph., as quoted above, makes the Κάγκαρ a name of three Pechineg tribes (*τριῶν θεμάτων*).

CHAPTER 21.

[p. **109**]

p. **217** l. 15 1. After *Iron Gate*, the words *otherwise...Derbent* are not in Hak.'s original.

l. 18 2. *Albania*: Rub.'s description is based on Isidore, *Etymologies*, IX. ii. 65; XIV. iii. 34, which passages are again based on Solinus, *Collectanea*, XV. 5: *apud hos populos* [apparently all the 'Scythian' races mentioned in chap. XV., Neuri, Geloni, Agathyrsi, Anthropophagi, Chalybes, Dahae, Albani] *nati canes feris anteponuntur, frangunt tauros, leones premunt.* Isidore has practically the same wording as Rubruquis; the source of Solinus here is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, VIII. 149.

Rub.'s words here are noteworthy in illustration of the confusedness of some of his geographical ideas. All the country is called Albania from the West side of the Caspian, and Alexander's iron gates, to the Maeotid marshes, where the Don rises, and the Northern Ocean; *Tota illa regio a latere Occidentali istius maris, ubi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri et montes Alanorum, usque ad Oceanum Aquilonarem et paludes Maeotidis ubi oritur Tanais* [Hak.'s *mergitur* is a misreading].

3. *Match*: in Hak.'s original *premant.* p. **217** l. 20

4. *Bulgaria ..greater...certaine cottages...most wicked Saracens*: cf. Carpini, pp. 677, 708, 747 in *Recueil*, and note 7, chap. 15; Rockhill, note 1, pp. 121—2 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, chaps. 12, 42; Marco Polo, I. 4, 6, 7, 45 (Yule); Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I. 545 (Bonn edition); *Mesalek-al-absar* (Quatremère), vol. XIII. of *Notices et Extraits*, p. 270; Masudi, *Prairies d'Or* (Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille), chap. 17; Frähn's *Ibn Foszlan* (1823), throughout; Berezin, *Bolghar on the Volga* (1853; in Russian), throughout; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 74, 81—4, also I. 295, 300, 305, 307, 309, and notes 843—5 in same; Frähn, *Wolga Bulgaren* (1832), throughout; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 345, II. ch. 3. As to the *cottages* (*quaedam casalia*) Hak.'s marginal note *Astracan* is quite misleading. The locality referred to was apparently near, but above, Ukek, and not far below Saratov, some days' journey N. of Sarai: cf. Ibn Batuta, II. 414; Marco Polo, I. 8 (Yule); F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, 182. l. 36

Berezin advances the startling view that Islam reached Bolghar, the neighbourhood of the modern Kazan, in the 9th year of the Hegira (631 A.D.); in any case the religion of Mohammed was preached here in the 9th century (A.D.); triumphed in the 10th; was weakened, but by no means destroyed, throughout Old or Black Bulgaria, during part of the Central Middle Ages (11th—13th centuries); and recovered its ascendency in the 14th century, an ascendency extended for a time to the Lower as well as the Middle Volga. Coins of Batu were struck at Bolghar.

5. *Extreame borders*: in Hak.'s original *exitus.* l. 38

6. *Damnable religion*: in Hak.'s original *legem.* p. **218** l. 4

7. *Court of Baatu*: cf. Carpini, pp. 744—7 of *Recueil*, and note 7 chap. 21 of Carpini (Hak.'s version). The form *Batoth* occurs in Simon of St Quentin. l. 5

8. *Horda...the midst*: on the meaning of *Horda* or *Ordu* cf. Carpini (p. 609 of *Recueil*), who rightly makes it signify the *stationes imperatoris et principum*. Cf. Rockhill, n. 1, p. 57, of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 18, 43, 57, 58, 114 (and notes 23, 97, 137). l. 14

9. *Gouernour or chieftaine among them*: not in Hak.'s original, but some such word is clearly understood. l. 15

10. *No subiect or inferiour person*: in Hak.'s original *nullus* only. A little later the words *directly opposite against the court* are a translation of *recte ante curiam vel ex opposito curiae.* l. 16

11. *Messengers to Ken-Can* [*Cham* in Hak.'s original], i.e. Andrew of Longumeau, and his party, sent to Kuyuk Khan (Rub.'s *Keu*, corrupted to *Ken*) in 1249 (Feb.)—1251. The words *then Baatu demanded* (*quaesiuit etiam*) are quite misleading: it is the *ductor* or guide who asks, not Batu, whom Rub. does not see until a little later when they were led into the pavilion (*papilio*): the word *his* before *pauilion* is equally misleading: the *guide* conducted the Friars to Batu's tent. l. 30

12. *Iohn de Plano Carpini...Baatu...sate.* On Batu and Rubruquis' visit, see d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 285—290, 309, 335. l. 40

All the MSS. read *Iohannes de Polycarpo*: cf. Carpini, pp. 744—7 of *Recueil*, and Benedict the Pole, pp. 777—8 of same, where it is stated that envoys at the Mongol court had to be dressed with becoming pomp ('baldaquin over their gowns,' etc.). Rub. does *not* do, here, what Benedict says is necessary.

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p. **219** l. 16 **13.** *A fresh ruddie colour*: in Hak.'s original *perfusus gutta rosea.* On Jean de Beaumont cf. Joinville, *Histoire de St Louis* (ed. Michel, 1867), p. 256; F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise.* Jean de Beaumont's name occurs 109th in the list of Knights of the Household, who accompanied St Louis to Tunis. He was Admiral of the Crusading fleet at the Landing in Egypt, June 5, 1249.

l. 27 **14.** Before the words *I added further* Hak. does not translate *et ipse diligenter auscultauit.*

l. 33 **15.** *Silly interpreter*: in Hak.'s original *interpres* only.

l. 39 **16.** *Best known*: in Hak.'s original *debetis scire.*

p. **220** l. 3 **17.** *Saracens... Ierusalem*: referring of course to the Sixth Crusade (St Louis' first) 1248—1254 A.D.

l. 5 **18.** *To you sir*: in Hak.'s original *Ad vos.* On the Mongol custom of offering kumiss or wine to guests cf. Quatremère, *Rashid-ed-din*, 354—9.

l. 23 **19.** *The man of God*: in Hak.'s original *Homo Dei*, earlier called *Turgemannus* also.

l. 37 **20.** *Goset the clearke...26 Yperperas...lad*: Gosset the *clericus* was probably in minor orders; 26 yperpera was about £13, or a little over. The boy was Nicholas; cf. p. 219 of the *Recueil* text (chap. 1, Hak.).

CHAPTER 22.

p. **221** l. 3 **1.** *Assumption euen*: i.e. Aug. 14, 1253.

l. 13 **2.** *Hee had neuer eaten*: in Hak.'s original *comederim.* Cf. Carpini, pp. 762, 747, 745 in *Recueil*; Simon of St Quentin, in Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Hist.*, XXXII. [XXXI.] 48.

[p. **111**]

l. 17 **3.** *Hungarians*: cf. note 7 in this chap.

l. 19 **4.** *Many songs without booke*: in Hak.'s original *multa corde.* Rub.'s ref. here is prob. to the Church Service but it can hardly be rendered 'with much expression' as Rockhill translates.

l. 22 **5.** *Pretily wel*: in Hak.'s original *competenter.*

l. 29 **6.** *Inke and paper*: in Hak.'s original *chartas.*

l. 36 **7.** *Baptized in Hungaria*: cf. *Analecta Franciscana*, II. 56, on the Franciscans in Bohemia from 1232; from this country they must soon have entered Hungary.

p. **222** l. 3 **8.** *Ende of Holy roode*: in Hak.'s original *finem exaltationis Sanctae Crucis*, i.e. Sept. 21. For *finem* the *Recueil* (273) reads *festum*, i.e. Sept. 14, 1253.

l. 4 **9.** *Millenarie*, i.e. *Mingatan*, commander of a thousand; cf. Carpini, p. 736 in *Recueil.* Five classes of *Mingutans* are reckoned in the Mongol service: cf. Devéria, *Journal Asiatique*, série IX., viii. 104.

l. 22 **10.** *With the wool stil vpon them*: in Hak.'s original *villosam.*

l. 25 **11.** *Second day after Holy rood...Eastward...feast of All Saints*: the second day after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is Sept. 16. In *Eastward*, here, Rub. gives (for once) the right direction. All Saints' Day is Nov. 1.

l. 28 **12.** *Changle...Romanes*: *Romanorum* here is pretty certainly a misreading for *Komanorum*, the reading of the *Recueil* text, following the best MSS. and common sense.

CHAPTER 23.

1. *Iagac*: i.e. the Ural river. Cf. Carpini, p. 743 of *Recueil* (*Iaec*, a better reading), and Benedict the Pole, p. 777 of same (*Iaiac*). It is the Δαἰχ of Menander Protector, in *Fragmenta Histor. Graeca*, 229 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXIII. 806–811; account of Zemarchus' mission), and the Γεήχ of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Adm. Imp.*, chap. 37. p. **222** l. 35

2. *Pascatir...Hungarians*: i.e. the land of the Bashkirs, Carpini's *Bascarts* (p. 708 of *Recueil*, and Benedict the Pole, p. 776 of same). Cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 620—1, and Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 306, 326—8, 329, and notes 767—8. l. 36

3. *Bulgaria the greater...any citie*: cf. note 4, chap. 21. l. 39

4. *Hunnes of olde time*: in Hak.'s original *Huni* only. The words, *Next vnto it* [*is Bulgaria the greater*] are a trans. of the strange phrase *unde ipsa est* [*maior Bulgaria*]. p. **223** l. 3

The identification of Huns and Hungarians is another hasty piece of mistaken name-inference on Rubruquis' part.

Though Rub.'s Latin text in Hak. p. 175, l. 13, says that it [Pascatir] is the *same* as Bulgaria maior, he has just said that it borders on the latter to the West: the statement here is inconsistent with the whole context: for *Bulgaria* we should probably read *Hungaria*.

5. *Isidore reporteth... Alexander... Caucasus... Ægypt... France*: *the impregnable walles and bounds of A.*, in Hak.'s original, are simply *claustra A.*; *barbarous and blood-thirstie*, in the same, are *feras* only; and the words *from inuading...South* are not in the Latin at all. l. 5

On the Huns, and their European inroads *usque in Franciam*, Rubruquis simply copies Isidore, *Etymologies*, Book IX. ch. ii. § 66 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* LXXXII. p. 334.

On the wall of Alexander in the Caucasus, cf. note 10 to chap. 16 of Rubruquis (Hak.'s version).

6. *Blacians...Ilac...Assani*: *Whereupon*, just before *Blacians*, is *Unde* in Hak.'s original. l. 12

On the Bulgarian migration from the Volga to the Danube valley (in 485, or rather *c.* 480—500, etc.), cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 82—3, I. 329; Stokvis, *Manuel d'histoire* (Leyden, 1888—93), II. 527.

By the *terra Assani* he means of course Modern or 'Lesser' Bulgaria, south of the Danube.

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7. *Sclauonians...one language... Vandals...Hunnes*: Rub.'s remarks on the connection of these languages are of striking penetration and accuracy, and have been rightly noticed as a pioneer essay of the highest value in the fewest words. l. 21

8. *Will prouoke...to enuy*: in Hak.'s original *prouocabo* simply. Before *whom God hath raised vp*, Hak. does not translate *populum multum et gentem stultam*. Deuteronomy, xxxii. 21, is the passage quoted verbatim, with the substitution only of *eos*, at end, for *illos*. l. 25

9. *Friers praedicants...Bulgarians...proued Saracens*: in Hak.'s original the last two words are *facti Saraceni*. l. 30

On this mission of the Dominicans from the Theiss to Great Hungary or Pascatir in the middle Volga basin, cf. Alberic Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, under A.D. 1237.

10. *Bulgaria...belonging to the Greekes*: Bulgaria, south of the Danube, l. 36

p. **223** conquered by the Byzantines, 970—1018, and retained in subjection till 1186, revolted again in the latter year and founded the Bulgar-Wallachian kingdom which fell before the Ottomans in 1398. See note 17 to Rub., ch. I.

l. 38 **11.** *Hungaria...Pannonia*: to say that the Hungarian kingdom of the Danube plain was the old *Pannonia* is almost totally misleading. *Dacia* was the Roman province that best corresponded.

l. 39 **12.** *Land of Cangle...Holy roode...All Saints*: before this Rub. spoke of starting from Batu's camp on the second day after Holy Cross (Sept. 16).

l. 41 **13.** *Paris...Orleans*: from Paris to Orleans (*a Parisiis usque Aurelianum*) is 110 kils., over 60 E. miles, a considerably greater distance perhaps than Rub. is likely to have ridden each day, though it may have been reached occasionally.

p. **224** l. 8 **14.** *Although* [*he trotted*]: in Hak.'s original *si*.

l. 13 **15.** *Emptie horses*: in Hak.'s original *saginarios*. After this Hak. does not translate *mutare equos saginarios*.

CHAPTER 24.

l. 19 **1.** *Sodden Millet to sup off*: in Hak.'s original *sorbere milium*: cf. Rockhill, note 2, p. 132 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Carpini, pp. 640—1 in *Recueil*; Ibn Batuta, II. 364.

l. 21 **2.** *Breast* [*of...mutton*]: in Hak.'s original *costis*.

3. *Euery man a measured quantitie*: in Hak.'s original *ad mensuram*.

l. 25 **4.** *Eating or drinking*: in Hak.'s original *hauriens*.

l. 30 **5.** *Benighted before...iourneis end*: in Hak.'s original *de nocte descendebamus*.

On the briars (*spinas*) used for fuel, cf. Benedict the Pole, p. 776 in *Recueil*, who calls them absinthia (*absincium*), i.e. saxaul.

l. 40 **6.** *Chingis...foure sonnes*: cf. Carpini, pp. 665—7 of *Recueil* and note 1 to chap. 10, notes 2—5 to chap. 13 of Carpini (Hak.'s version).

In all matters of nomenclature Carpini is usually superior to Rubruquis, e.g. in the lists of Mongol princes, of nations conquered by or still independent of the Mongols, and of Italian merchants at Kiev, as well as of the South Russian rivers, Dnyepr, Don, and Volga (by their modern designations).

p. **225** l. 10 **7.** [*Pope...*] *of so lasting an age*: in Hak.'s original *ita senex*.

Magnus Papa is probably a translation of the most usual Mongol term for the Pope.

l. 14 **8.** *Because it was*: in Hak.'s original *quod esset*.

l. 15 **9.** *Euen of...Al Saints...East...South...Alpes*: i.e. on Oct. 31, 1253: Rubruquis turned S.E.:—not 'due south' (*recte in meridiem*) as he says;—probably some way (200 or 300 miles) W. of Lake Balkhash.

l. 20 **10.** *Asses...Colan*: i.e. the Mongol *Kulan* or wild ass, already alluded to by Rubruquis (p. 230 of *Recueil*). Cf. Herodotus, IV. 61; Strabo, VII. 4, 259; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 322 (on Chingiz hunting wild asses near *Colan*-Tashi).

l. 23 **11.** *South...high mountaines*: perhaps the Kara-tau range, renamed by the Russians the Alexander Mts., running from near Aulie-Ata to Lake Issik-Kul.

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l. 26 **12.** *Eight day after...All Saints...Saracens...Kenchat*. The Octave of All Saints is Nov. 8, 1253.

Kenchat or *Kinchat* is *Kenjek* in Moslem writers. Cf. F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, p. 193; Rockhill, note 2, p. 136, Hak. Soc. *Rubruk*. p. **225**

13. *At the townes end*: in Hak.'s original *extra villam*. l. 28

14. *Before...S. Michael...name of...prouince*: i.e. before Sept. 29, 1253. l. 32

The name of the province is now 'Syr Daria'; it was part of the Kara-Khitai empire and (after the Mongol Conquest) of the sub-kingdom of Chagatai; the title of Kara-tagh seems to have been given it. See map 24 in Schrader's *Atlas Historique* and the map prefixed to vol. I. of d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*.

15. *By making...sluces*: not in Hak.'s original. l. 38

16. *Exonerate it selfe*: in Hak.'s original *descendebat*. The river here referred to is perhaps the Talas, which flows into Lake or Swamp Kara-kul, almost in E. Long. 70 (Greenwich). l. 39

17. *By an hideous gulfe...bowels of...earth*: in Hak.'s original simply *a terra*: no 'hideous gulf,' but a marshy lake, absorbs the river [? Talas], as is suggested in the Latin text. At end of ch., Hak. does not translate *bis* [*de vino bibi*].

CHAPTER 25.

1. *Neere vnto*: in Hak.'s original *propinquius*. p. **226** l. 3

2. *Caucasus*. All this is thoroughly in the language of later classical geography, which normally assumed an Asiatic backbone-chain from extreme east to extreme west, called most usually the Caucasus, but also the Imaus, Emodus, etc. l. 5

3. *On both parts to the sea*: in Hak.'s original *ex utraque parte maris*. l. 6

4. *And on the West part...conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea*: in Hak.'s original *et quod transiueramus mare supradictum*: 'and [I understood] that we had passed beyond the aforesaid sea' [i.e. the Caspian]. l. 7

5. *Talas...Dutchmen...Buri...Andrew...Ban*. The *Dutchmen* are *Teutonici* in Hak.'s original, here as elsewhere. Ban and Buri[n] are of course the same person; cf. Carpini, p. 666 in *Recueil* and n. 5, ch. 13; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 333—4, also pp. 308, 311, 315, 318 of same vol. l. 9

On Talas city (probably corresponding to the modern Aulie-Ata), cf. Menander Protector, Περὶ Πρεσβέων Ρωμαίων πρὸς Ἔθνη, in *Fragmenta Histor. Graeca*, 228 (account of journey of Zemarchus); in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXIII. 888; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 18, 19, 71, 130, 169, 228, 231, 253, 301 and esp. 226; II. 252; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), pp. 79—81, 171, 364; F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, 195—200.

6. *Passe and repasse*: in Hak.'s original *vadam*. l. 19

7. After *Mangu-Can*, Hak. does not translate *Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta mõtes per sex dietas*. On Rub.'s visit to Mangu's court, see d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 290—6, 297—309; also II. 257 of same work, where Rub.'s evidence is cited in confirmation of Mangu's measures against Okkodai's partisans. l. 30

8. *Bolac*: the *Phulad* of King Hayton, the *Bo-lo*, *Po-lo* and *Pu-la* of Chinese contemporaries, the *Pulad* of Moslem writers (e.g. Rashid-ed-din). It was apparently near Lake Sairam (Sut-Kul) in the valley of the Borotala in Zungaria. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 17, 125, 162, 169; II. 41—2 (esp.). This passage may be compared with what Rub. says on p. 216 in the *Recueil* (p. 186, l. 2, of this version) as evidence of the importance of iron to the Tartars and of their eagerness to obtain iron weapons and implements. l. 33

9. *From...foresaide cottage...directly Eastward*: in Hak.'s original *a* l. 38

p. **226** *praedicto casali* 'from the above-mentioned village.' Rub.'s course from Kinchat was apparently first E. along the north face of the Alexander range and then E.N.E. to the Ili and Semiryechensk, E. and S.E. of Lake Balkhash.

l. 40 **10.** *Daunced*: in Hak.'s original *plaudebant.*

p. **227** l. 6 **11.** *More surlie and stoute*: in Hak.'s original *superiores.*

l. 8 **12.** *Alpes...Cara Catayans*: the *alpes* or *pascua* of the Kara-Kitai are probably the hills between the Chu and the Ili. The *magnus fluuius* here is probably the Ili: see Yule in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. *Rubruquis*; F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, 202—3.

l. 14 **13.** *Village...[Equius]*: in Hak.'s original *bonam villam...[E...].*

Equius was perhaps near Kailac and the modern Kopal, as F. M. Schmidt suggests, p. 203 of work quoted above. The Persian-speaking Saracens here are notable.

l. 17 **14.** *Foresaide Alpes...descended...plaine...Sea or lake...fifteene dayes*: these Alps are probably not the foothills of the Alexander range as some have thought, but outliers of the Zungarian Ala-tau. The *quoddam mare...siue quendam lacum* is probably the Balkhash, rather than the Ala-Kul. The *Recueil* text here (p. 281) makes the lake xxv days, not xv, in circumference.

l. 22 **15.** *Distilling*: in Hak.'s original *descendentibus.*

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l. 27 **16.** After *feede their cattel there*, Hak. does not translate *quia optima pascua erant ibi.*

l. 28 **17.** *Cailac*: probably the *Kayalik*, *Kaligh*, and *Khaulak* of Moslem writers, the *Hai-va-li* of the Chinese, near the modern Kopal in Semiryechensk. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 126; II. 37, 40 and notes 808, 813; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 246, 516; Yule, *Cathay*, ccxii—ccxiii. 576; F. M. Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruk's Reise*, 204; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), 288.

l. 31 **18.** *Ought to haue accompanied*: in Hak.'s original *debebat esse socius.*

l. 33 **19.** *Organum...Contomanni...Organes.* On *Organum*, i.e. Almalik or Kulja, cf. Yule, *Cathay*, 522; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 114, 167, and note 285.

The name of a woman (Organa), wife of Kara Hulagu (the Ha-la-hü-lie of the Chinese, Chagatai's grandson, Chinghiz' great-grandson), has here been given to a country, forming part of the modern Semiryechensk, over which she reigned as regent (after Kara Hulagu's death), 1252—1260. For *Contomanni* the *Recueil* (282) rightly reads *Turcomanni*, with MS. D: cf. Carpini in the *Recueil*, p. 708 and critical note 12, chap. 25, p. 303 of this vol.

The derivation of *Organum* from *Organistae* is very characteristic and must be set against Rub.'s better grounded philological remarks in other places.

l. 39 **20.** *Here first...worshippers of idoles...many sects.* By idol-worshippers both Buddhists and Shamanists are no doubt meant here.

CHAPTER 26.

p. **228** l. 3 **1.** *Iugures...Organum*: on the Uigurs, Carpini's *Huiur*, cf. p. 650 of the *Recueil*, where they are called Nestorian Christians: see also n. 2 to chap. 9 of Carpini; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 236—263; also I. 214; II. 26, 53, 177—8, 180 of same; E. Chavannes, *Le Nestorianisme et l'inscription de*

Kara Balgasoun, 1897, pp. 16, 45, 47; V. Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, 1896, p. 147. Rub. evidently considers the Uigurs practically Pagans, but admits they believed in one God (*Recueil*, 288). Manichaeism was introduced among the Uigurs *c.* A.D. 762 (inscription of Kara Balgasun). On *Organum* see note 19, chap. 25. p. **228**

2. *A crosse painted with ink*: in Hak.'s original *cruciculam de atramento.* Cf. Theophylact Simocatta, v. 10 (vol. 46, p. 225 of Bonn edition, 1834), on the 6th cent. Turks with black crosses pricked on their foreheads. l. 10

3. *Saracens...religion*: in Hak.'s original *Saraceni in tantū inuitant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis.* Here *invitant* is really intensive for *vitant.* l. 22

4. *Kalends...Saracens...Passeouer*: by the 'Saracen Easter' Bairam is probably meant: cf. Schiltberger, *Travels* (Hak. Soc.), p. 70. l. 25

On the Buddhist festivals on the 1st and 15th, 8th and 25th of the month, cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 100, and note 2 p. 143 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.*

On the prayer-ritual of these idolaters as described by Rub., see note 3 p. 143 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, which declares that the details *omnes adorant ad aquilonem...extensis palmis ante pectus* are quite incorrect as to modern Buddhists.

5. *Curteously inuite and louingly intertaine*: in Hak.'s original *colligunt*: for *citizens of the said citie of Cailac* the original has only *homines.* l. 28

6. *In maner of a Vestry*: not in Hak.'s original; *for themselues to goe forth into* is in the original *quasi eorum* [for *corum*] *exeuntem.* The details given by Rub. as to the arrangement of the idol-temples seen by him apply perfectly to Lama sanctuaries now (Rockhill, n. 1, p. 144 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*). p. **229** l. 3

7. *As the idole of Saint Christopher*: in Hak.'s original *sicut pingitur Sanctus Christopherus.* The picture of St Christopher on the La Cosa Map of 1500, carrying the infant Christ across the Western Ocean to the New World, will occur to all geographers. On Buddhist parallels to the Christian giant, cf. Marco Polo, I. 221 (Yule); Friar Odoric (chap. 30) in Yule, *Cathay*, 108—9, and Appendix I. XXIV—XXV.; King Hayton in Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II. 389—391, and in Klaproth, *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.* (1833), XII. 289 and instances in Rockhill, note 3, p. 144 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.* l. 10

8. *Nestorian priest...in Catay*: cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 260, on Bolgai or Bulgai as a Nestorian Christian, and his influence under Mangu. On Nestorian Christianity in China see Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, I. 215—222 and the refs. there. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. III. part ii. pp. 77—175, 413—617 is the chief collection of material on the history of Nestorian Missions: E. Chavannes, *Le Nestorianisme et l'inscription de Kara Balgasoun*, 1897; Pauthier, *De l'Authenticité de l'Inscription de Singanfu*; and Yule, *Cathay*, I. lxxxviii—ci, are valuable studies. l. 11

9. *Christians of the East ... great belles*: it does not appear that the Christians living under the Mongols in Asia had no bells, as Rub. implies. Cf. Rockhill, note 2 p. 116 and n. 1 p. 145 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.* l. 20

As to the exception, *Ruteni tamen habent* [*campanas*] *et Graeci in Gazaria*, it is well known that nowhere in Christendom have bells reached such size and importance as in the Russian Church. *Gazaria* of course is the Crimea: this remark esp. applies perhaps to Soldaia or Sudak: cf. Ibn Batuta, in Yule, *Cathay*, 402.

CHAPTER 27.

[p. **115**]

p. **229** l. 31 **1.** *Long foormes*: in Hak.'s original *scamna.* Rub.'s remarks about the shaven heads, saffron garments [*vestiti de croceo*] and monastic congregations of the Buddhist priests are well borne out by later observation. They are commented on by Rockhill, note 2, p. 145 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.*

l. 36 **2.** *Softly*: in Hak.'s original *in silencio.*

l. 38 **3.** *At the time of their superstitious deuotions*: in Hak.'s original *apud Oratorium quoddam eorum.*

p. **230** l. 2 **4.** *String...nutshels...bead-roule*: in Hak.'s original *restem...nucleorum... pater noster.* The Lama rosaries of the present day have 108 beads, cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, and *Ethnology of Tibet*, 736.

l. 4 **5.** *Ou mam Hactani...God thou knowest*: this is the earliest Christian and European notice of the great Buddhist formula, *Om, the Jewel in the Lotus, hûm*, whose use can be traced back to the 9th cent. A.D., cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 326. The form here is not that of the *Recueil* and the best MSS., *On mani baccam.* Rub.'s mistranslation is wonderfully complete.

l. 12 **6.** *Pole*: in Hak.'s original *perticam*: cf. Rockhill, note 2, p. 146 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck* on the black tufts (*tughs*, yaks' tails) often found on these poles.

l. 16 **7.** *Going...towardes*: in Hak.'s original *ingressus.*

l. 19 **8.** *French men...ornaments*: in Hak.'s original *fratres Franci...tyaras.* On Lama head-dresses cf. Waddell, *Buddhism in Tibet*, 196.

l. 22 **9.** *Laced or buttened from the bosome*: in Hak.'s original *accincti.* On this dress cf. Rockhill, note 1 p. 147 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.*

l. 26 **10.** *Houssel-boxe*: in Hak.'s original *casulam.* No worse mistake occurs in all Hak.'s loose translations than this of *pyx* for *vestment* or *chasuble.*

11. *Their...writing the Tartars did receiue...Mangu-Can...hand...of the Iugures*: on the adoption of the Uigur script—itself based on the Syriac of the early Nestorian Missions—by the Mongols, cf. Carpini, pp. 650—1 of the *Recueil*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 88—89; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 53, 236—7, 262, and note 126. On the Lama charms, cf. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 77, 98, and note 3 p. 147 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*: Rub.'s remarks on the form of these shew most keen and accurate observation. On the burning of the dead and the sepulchral pyramids, cf. Rockhill, note 4, p. 147 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck.*

p. **231** l. 22 **12.** *Images of felt...carts...soothsayers*: cf. Carpini, *Recueil* text, pp. 618—20; M. Polo, I. 249—50; II. 478 (Yule); Josafat Barbaro, 34; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 16; Friar Odoric (chap. 48) in Cordier, p. 486, in Yule's *Cathay*, p. 156, and Appendix I. to last-named, p. xxxix.

l. 34 **13.** *Tents must be pitched...first of al*: in Hak.'s original *metandi castra... post.*

[p. **116**]

l. 42 **14.** *Chidden full well for my labour*: in Hak.'s original *multum dure increpatus.*

CHAPTER 28.

p. **232** l. 4 **1.** *Iugures...Caracarum...Presbyter Iohn...Vut*: the Mongols did not adopt the Uigur script when the Uigurs were established at and near Kara-

korum, as Rub. implies, but in the time and through the personal efforts of Chingiz Khan. p. 232

On Prester John see note 3 to chap. 10 of Carpini (Hak.'s version) and note 3 to chap. 19 of Rub. (Hak.'s version). On Vut see note 6 to chap. 19 of Rub. (Hak.'s version).

2. *Neere vnto...betweene* [*the mountaines*]: in Hak.'s original *circa...inter* [*montes*]. l. 12

3. *Nestorians...can skill of their letters*: see note 11 to chap. 27. l. 16

4. *Tangut*: the empire of Tangut or Hia was dominant over modern Kansu and much of N. Tibet from A.D. 1004 (or even from 982) to 1226—7, when Chingiz destroyed it, after an unsuccessful attack in 1209—10. Cf. Marco Polo, I. 206 (Yule); d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 8, 95—6, 105—106, 139—140, 370, etc.; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 27, 38, 58, 104, 184, 213, 221, 309; II. 16, and notes 46, 518. l. 18

5. *Oxen...legges greater...exceedingly fierce*: in Hak.'s original *boues... bassiores in tibijs.....ferociores multum*. On the Yak, perhaps the ἀγριόβους of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία or *Christian Topography*, p. 335 Montfaucon; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXVIII. 444), who is the earliest Western author to give a colourable reference to this animal (*c.* A.D. 545). Cf. also Marco Polo, I. 266, 268 (Yule); Tarikh-i-Rashidi, 416 (Elias and Ross). l. 21

6. [*Hornes...*] *streight*: in Hak.'s original *cornua acuosa*. l. 25

7. *Coupled*: in Hak.'s original *iniungi*, a misreading for *mungi*, *milked*, as in *Recueil* text and best MSS. l. 28

8. *The qualities of a Buffe*: in Hak.'s original *naturam bubali*—the nature of a buffalo, i.e. even fiercer than a bull's. l. 29

9. *Next* [*...Tebet*]: in Hak.'s original *post*. Cf. Carpini on *Burithabet* (*Recueil*, p. 658, where the plucking out of the beard, as still practised, is described); also Rockhill, note 2, p. 151 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*, where he suggests the derivation of the name 'Tibet' or 'Tebet' from 'Teu-Beu,' the native pronunciation of *Stod Bod* or 'Upper Tibet,' *Bod* or *Beu* being the proper name of the country as a whole. On the cannibalism of the Tibetans, Carpini (as quoted above), Rubruquis (here), and Marco Polo, I. 292 (Yule), are in practical agreement; and even Rockhill, who doubts this charge, admits Rubruquis' later statement as still true—*tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus...*; cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 82, 96; II. 317, 640; Rockhill, *Ethnology of Tibet*, 727, and note 1, page 152 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 21—5, 204, 221, 224. l. 30

10. *Iugures...roote of...Turkish...*: no remark of Rubruquis has earned him more credit than this 'interesting and perfectly accurate statement.' Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 236—263, and esp. 237, 263. p. 233 l. 9

11. *Langa and Solanga*: a nation (the *Churche* and *Sulangka* of Moslem writers) whose country, forming one of the 12 chief provinces of the Mongol empire in *East* Asia, covered a great part of Eastern Manchuria and Northern Korea. Cf. Carpini, pp. 636, 707, 756 of *Recueil* and note 2, chap. 29 of Carp. in Hak.; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 478, 638—9; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 190, 224; II. 157, 173—4 and note 574. l. 10

12. *Little browne men like...Spaniards*: in Hak.'s original *parui homines et fusci sicut Hispani*. l. 13

13. *Sleeues*: in Hak.'s original *manicis*. *Vpper vestment* is a trans. of *supertunicale*. Rub.'s remarks on these dresses and 'mitres' still apply l. 15

p. **233** exceedingly well for the most part to those of the Koreans. Certain minor differences or inaccuracies are noted by Rockhill, note 1, p. 153 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

l. 19 **14.** *But there hang downe certaine square flappes*: in Hak.'s original *sed sunt quadrae desuper*. *Rough and rugged*, a little later, is a trans. of *rigidato*: *houer* of *se extendunt*.

l. 29 **15.** *Table...handfull*: in Hak.'s original *tabulam* ['tablet' here]...*vnius cubiti*: on these tablets cf. Friar Odoric, ch. 42; p. 378 in Cordier; 141—2 and Appendix I. p. xxxiv, in Yule, *Cathay*. They are the *Kwei* of the Chinese and of extremely ancient use.

l. 31 **16.** *Any other*: in Hak.'s original *alicui*.

l. 37 **17.** *Muc*: *Nunc* in one MS. (E). Perhaps the aboriginal *Mosso* tribes of Yun-nan, cf. Rockhill, note 2, p. 154 of Hak. Soc. *Rubruck*.

p. **234** l. 7 **18.** *Great Cathaya...Seres*: Cathay is here conjecturally identified with the land of the Seres or Ancient China, as seen from the Land Side by Europe. No Christian writer ventures on this suggestion before Rub.

Cf. Carpini's remarks on the Chinese or Cathayans. pp. 653—4 of *Recueil* text, an admirable summary, injured chiefly by the tendency to consider them as much like Christians, with an Old and New Testament, etc. (the Chinese *Five Classics* and *Four Books*, Confucian Analects, etc.). See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 209, 225, 232; II. 281; Yule, *Cathay*, xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxvi—xlv., cxxiv—cxxvii., etc.

The idea of the name of *Seres* coming from a certain town in the same country is also in Isidore, *Etymologies*, XIV. iii. 29 (*Seres oppidum Orientis a quo et genus Sericum et regio nuncupata est*); in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXII. 500.

The town with walls of silver and towers of gold was probably Singanfu. At the end of Hak.'s text, *non obediunt Moallis et inter*, MSS. A and C (London, B. Mus., Reg. 14 C. XIII., C.C.C. Cam. 407) also end. D (giving all the text as yet known, nearly as long again as Hak.'s) ends with *copiosas expensas* (C.C.C. Cam. 181) like the *Recueil* text, which is based on D. The broken sentence ends [*et inter*] *eos et Indiam interiacet mare*. See critical notes, pp. 295, 304.

The edition of Yule's *Marco Polo* referred to throughout this vol. is that of 1875: the new issue of 1903 was published too late for use here. See page 305 of this vol.

On the Volga and its names, note also that of 'Tigris' given to it by Marco Polo and the XIVth century Friar-traveller Pascal of Vittoria (A.D. 1338). See page 289 of this vol.

In MS. E of Rubruquis the form 'Coir Chan' is given [for 'Con Can']: this is probably the very form in which Rub. wrote 'Gur Khan.' See page 279 of this vol.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

§ 8. Notes on Hakluyt's Version of...Carpini.

CHAPTER 2.

1. *Ascelline*: the form *Ezzelino* is given in Paolo Pansa, *Life of Innocent IV.*, 4th edition, Naples, 1598, p. 44. Guichard of Cremona and Andrew of Longumeau are said to have joined Ascelin's mission at Tiflis: Longumeau had already travelled, according to some, as a missionary in the East. Ascelin did not re-appear before the Pope who commissioned him till 1250, though dismissed by the Mongols in July, 1247.

4. *Iohn de Plano Carpini*: in Wadding's *Annales Minorum* we find as other forms of this name *Carpinis* (II. 4, 74, 75, 104), *Cardinis* (II. 5).

Wadding, *Annales*, II. 408. is prob. not a reference to Carpini, but to another Joannes, though d'Avezac, *Recueil*, 477, conjectures, without sufficient warrant, that they are the same.

Of the two letters of Innocent IV. to the Mongols only the shorter one is printed by d'Avezac, in *Recueil*, 479—80. The longer is given by Wadding, *Annales*, III. 116—7. It is addressed *Regi et populo Tartarorum*; begins *Dei Patris immensa benignitas*; and ends *aut potentes alios misissemus.* Both letters are dated *Lugd., III Non. Mart., anno II.* The shorter letter is in Wadding, *Annales*, III. 118.

The following, among others, wrongly attribute Carpini's commission to Council of Lyons; Wadding, *Annales*, III. 116, *Scriptores*, 221; Bzovius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Cologne, 1616), XIII. 542, 567; Bergeron, *Traicté des Tartares*, 72. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 209, wrongly makes Carpini start in 1246 [for 1245].

Wadding, *Scriptores*, 221, mentions that Carpini had the companionship of Stephen of Bohemia [*cum Stephano Bohemo*]. Sbaraglia's *Supplementum et Castigatio* [*opus posthumum Fr. Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleae*, Rome, 1806] refers to pp. 295—6 of a manuscript chronicle left by Salimbeni [now printed] as the source of the description of Carpini, quoted p. 271 of this vol. Sbaraglia, p. 452, gives the date of Carpini's death as April 12, 1253, but it was at least 4 months earlier.

CHAPTER 3.

3. *Cracurim*, etc.: Joinville does not mention Karakorum, but vaguely describes the pasture land of the Mongols and the rocks at which that pasture land began, where the people of Got and Margoth were shut up: cf. *Histoire du roi S. Louis*, ed. Michel, 143.

CHAPTER 4.

6. *Mares milke*, etc.: in p. 109, l. 38, *Mill* is for *millet.*

CHAPTER 5.

5. *Great duke*, etc.: on Yaroslav II. of Vladimir cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 215—6.

CHAPTER 6.

2. *Duke of Russia*, etc.: on St Feodor cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 216.

CHAPTER 8.

1. *Countrie...called Mongal*, etc.: Benedict the Pole, *Recueil*, 774, expressly terms himself the *interpres* of the party: this alone accounts for Carpini's strength in Slavonic matters.

The *Merkit* or *Merghed* are also known as *Uduyut*.

3. *Chingis*: the name means 'strong,' 'firm,' from *Chink*, and is really a plural. Chingiz Khan = 'Khan of strengths,' acc. to d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 99.

5. *The Naimani*, etc.: Rubruquis, in *Recueil*, 295, declares *Naimani erant proprii homines Presbyteri Johannis.*

CHAPTER 9.

2. *Huyri*, etc.: on the earlier history of the Uigurs cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 3, 107—109. They were subject to the Chinese between *c.* A.D. 630 and 745: in the middle of the VIIIth century Buku Khan founded an empire destroyed by the Chinese and Kirghiz about 847: in the VIth century the Uigur country apparently formed part of the dominion of the Turkish Khans (Dizabul, etc.) who carried on so lively an intercourse with the Byzantines.

6. *Hudirat*: the Voyrat lived in the basin of the Upper Yenisei: their special habitat was along '8 streams' which formed the river Kem.

CHAPTER 10.

3. *India Maior...Presbiter Iohn*: Joinville defines the 'Emperor of Persia's land' as coming 'after' Prester John's, and describes the Tartars gathering *endroit* [*vis à vis*] *la terre P... J....* Cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 54—8, 60—3, 66—8, 78—83, 425, on Unc, Ong, Ung, or Wang Khan, prince of the Kerаits; this personage was certainly one element in the Prester John story; Chingiz Khan himself was another; the Gur Khan of the Kara-kitai was a third, the most definite and important of all; while a fourth was the conversion of the Keraits to Nestorian Christianity in *c.* 1007—8, reported not only by Abul-Faraj, but also by Mares the Syrian [in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III. 484].

CHAPTER 11.

3. *Burithabeth*, etc.: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 82, also cites the form *Buri-tibet* from the *Jami-ut-Tevarikh*.

CHAPTER 12.

1. *Lande of Kergis*: cf. also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 3, 6, 8, 103—4, note. The Kirghiz between Selenga, Angara, Baikal, and Little Altai, were vassals of China in the VIIIth century: in 759 submitted to the Uigurs (Buku Khan, etc.): about 840 became independent and founded a short-lived 'empire.' The name Χέρχις occurs in Menander Protector's account of Zemarchus' VIth century embassy to the Turks, when Dizabul gave Z. a slave of this race.

CHAPTER 15.

2. *Countrie...Bisermini*, etc.: Pushkin has a story *The Basurman* (*heretic*), and in his tale *The Undertaker* the expression *Basurmane* is used for 'scoundrels,' 'ruffians.' Correct refs. to d'Avezac and d'Ohsson here are:—*Recueil*, IV. 501—5; *Histoire des Mongols*... II. 279—82.

3. *Barchin*, etc.: note also form *Eschnass* for *Ornas*.

5. *Out of Russia*, etc.: the 270,000 ears are from Abul-Faraj.

7. *Morduans*, etc.: d'Ohsson's extracts from the *Tarikh-Jihankushai* and *Jami-ut-Tevarikh* are esp. important for the history of the Mongol campaigns in the Volga basin.

CHAPTER 21.

2. *Bathy*, etc.: Batu's title of Aka or Aga signified 'Elder Brother.' Rubruquis in *Recueil*, 307, makes Mangu say *sicut sol est ubique diffundens radios suos, ita mea potentia et ipsius Baatu diffundit se undique* [not in Hak.].

7. *Volga*, etc.: Rubruquis, in *Recueil*, 378, says plainly *Sarai quae est nova villa quam fecit Baatu super Ethiliam* [not in Hak.]. This town of Old Sarai, though usually assumed to have been at or close to Tsarev (on the Akhtuba or Eastern arm of the Volga, in the lowest part of its course) and practically in the latitude of Tsaritsin, may have been at a site lower down the Volga delta, perhaps at Selitrennoye Gorodok or 'Saltpetre-Township,' about 70 miles above Astrakhan, also on the Akhtuba. In this case, the ruins at Tsarev would probably answer to New Sarai, founded about 1333—43 and destroyed by Timur 1396. Cf. Yule's *Marco Polo* (new edition by Cordier, 1903), *Prologue*, chap. II., note 1.

10. *Exonerate*, etc.: for similar errors of antiquity, Maeotid Marshes supposed to flow into Caspian, Oxus to be upper course of Tanais, etc., cf. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Life of Alexander*, 44, 46; Arrian, *De exped. Alex.*, III. 30, 13; Quintus Curtius, *De reb. gest. Alex.*, VII. 4, 7; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI. 18.

CHAPTER 23.

10. *Iberia...Cathes*, etc.: on the *Cathi* cf. d'Avezac, in *Recueil*, 495.

13. *Kangittae*: the *Canglae* or *Kangittae* are called by Rubruquis *quaedam parentela Comanorum*: see *Recueil* as cited in orig. note. On Canglae and Kipchak Turks see also d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I. 197, note.

CHAPTER 26.

7. *Sonnes...of...king of Georgia*, etc.: d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 196—7, gives a list of envoys present at Kuyuk's election, extracting from the *Tarikh-Jihankushai* and *Jami-ut-Tevarikh*, which refer to Frank ambassadors present at the place of Kuyuk's election. By this no doubt Carpini and Benedict, and perhaps Baldwin of Hainault, are intended.

CHAPTER 29.

1. *Chingay*, etc.: on Chingai, and other ministers and notaries of Kuyuk's, esp. Nestorians, cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, II. 234—5.

CHAPTER 33.

4. *Holde...Pope for...Lord*: on these Russian promises cf. Oderic Rinaldi, *Annales Eccles.*, II. 408—9; Bzovius, *Annales Eccles.*, XIII. 567.

§ 10. Notes on Hakluyt's Version of Rubruquis.

CHAPTER 1.

1. *William de Rubruk*, etc.: in Jean Pierre Sarrasin *Ilchikadai* is *Eteltay*, or *Etheltay*. See refs. in orig. note.

6. *Gasaria*, etc.: in Jordanus we have *Osbet quod vocatur Gatzaria*. See ref. in orig. note.

26. *Bartholomew...Goset*, etc.: the form *Gossel* is preferred by the *Recueil* editors, 218.

28. *Promontories...Gothes*, etc.: these Goths of the Crimea are also noticed in Monte Corvino's Letters from China [Jan. 8, 1305], recommending the despatch of Latin missionaries by this route, *de via notifico quod per terram Gothorum imperatoris aquilonarium Tartarorum est via brevior et securior*.

30. *Comanians*, etc.: on date of Kalka battle cf. also Karamzin's *Russian History*, III. 227, 236: d'Ohsson adopts date of May 31, 1223.

CHAPTER 3.

1. *Southward*, etc.: on the reverence paid to the South by Tartars cf. also Carpini, *Recueil*, 620, 621, 756, 758.

2. *The like...idolatrie*: cf. Benedict in *Recueil*, 775, on the *aurea statua imperatoris*, which he and Carpini were compelled to bow before.

CHAPTER 6.

4. *Caracosmos*: the mares kept for milking were often a valued article of tribute to Mongol princes, etc.

CHAPTER 7.

5. *Cataya*, etc.: Carpini's *purpura* seems to have been samite, cf. Benedict in *Recueil*, 777.

CHAPTER 8.

5. *Botta*: on the *Bogtak* cf. also d'Avezac in *Recueil*, 524—5, and refs. there.

CHAPTER 21.

12. *John de Plano*, etc.: Benedict's full account of the necessary dress is *induti et ipsi desuper tunicas suas baldekino...quia nulli nuntiorum nisi accurate vestiti vultum regis...licuit intueri*. See ref. in orig. note.

CHAPTER 23.

2. *Pascatir*, etc.: Benedict's phrase is *Bascardos, qui sunt antiqui Ungari*. See ref. in orig. note.

CHAPTER 24.

6. *Chingis*, etc.: add Carpini in *Recueil*, 624.

CHAPTER 26.

1. *Iugures*, etc.: add Carpini in *Recueil*, 651.

CHAPTER 28.

11. *Langa...Solanga*: d'Ohsson considers *Soulangea* to be the *partie cultivée du pays des Tchourtches*. See ref. in orig. note.

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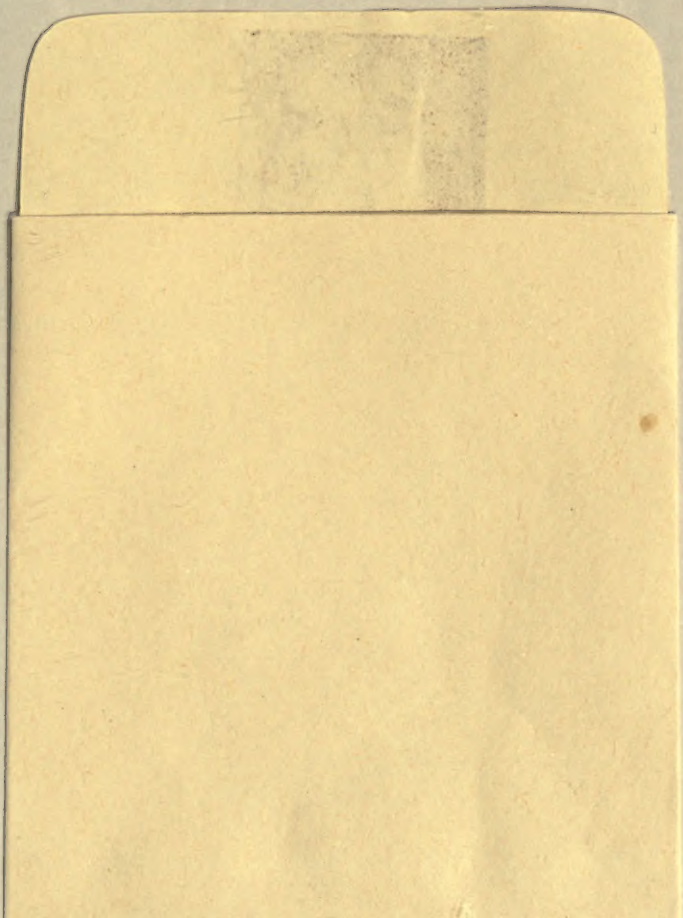
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